LAW COMMISSION OF CANADA
COMMISSION DU DROIT DU CANADA

103-05090/

Needs and Expectations for Redress of Victims of Abuse

By SAGE

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Ce document est également disponible en français sous le titre *Besoins et attentes en matière de réparation pour les sévices commis contre les enfants placés dans les pensionnats pour enfants autochtones.*

Needs and Expectations for Redress of Victims of Abuse at Residential Schools

Final Report
Submitted to
The Law Commission of Canada
23 October 1998

by

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* PLEASE TAKE CARE *

This report contains detailed descriptions of child abuse, that can be extremely upsetting to read. For those who were in residential schools themselves, this report will bring up your own memories. It is recommended that you have a trusted person available to talk to when you read it.

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1. Executive Summary

Residential schooling was an aspect of colonization that had a particularly destructive effect on First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities, families, and individuals. Residential school policies recognized that language and family ties, embodying as they do, the foundations of culture, spirituality, and historical bonds, were key in the maintenance of distinct aboriginal nations. Government and church representatives have been very clear, until very recently, about their intent to eradicate these.

Several generations of native people over the past 150 years attended residential schools. Many children were subjected to horrific physical and sexual abuse, sometimes lasting over periods of years, and many of them died. Far more children experienced a standard level of brutality, in an environment characterized by forced labour, poor and inadequate food, harsh discipline, little or no medical attention, the absence of family and community ties, and a complete lack of emotional nurturing. Only a small minority got an education -- academic or vocational -- out of the experience. All students were dependents in a system which expounded an unquestioned belief in the moral and intellectual superiority of white culture, and vilification of all aspects of native life.

Long awaited recognition that this experience produced profound, and profoundly negative, impacts has given rise to this report. This recognition has only come about because survivors of the residential school system themselves, are beginning to come forward, in large numbers, to demand justice.

We do not believe just redress for the impact of residential schools, will be found in research that particularizes individual wrongs, and attempts to measure out remedies for them. This approach removes an injustice from its context, which in the case of residential schools, is undeniably that of a prolonged onslaught against indigenous ways of life. We've done quite a bit of particularizing here, in large part to demonstrate that such research does not and cannot help discover any "answers" to the question of what to do. There are no tidy little packaged answers for massive human and social problems.

We do hope we've presented a clear picture of what the problems are, because a clear picture does provide a foundation for action. The need for significant action to respond to the expectations of former residential school students is undeniable. Our recommendations, none of which, incidentally, haven't been made before, point to some of the many actions that would recognize, and perhaps in small measure alleviate, a massive grief and long standing injustice.

2. Introduction

In November 1997, the Minister of Justice asked the Law Commission of Canada to prepare a report on processes for dealing with institutional child physical and sexual abuse. Recognizing the particular cultural and historical context of residential schools, and the depth of harm they have caused, the Law Commission determined that the experiences of residential school survivors should be examined separately from the experiences of victims of abuse in other types of institutions.

Accordingly, this paper focuses solely on the abuse experienced by First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children in residential schools, and the ways in which this abuse might be redressed.

We were given a very broad scope for research, including study of the causes of the abuse, the types of harm which resulted, possible remedies for these harms, and prevention strategies. The Law Commission noted that abuse may take many forms other than physical and sexual violence, and requested consideration of all forms of harm, including emotional, cultural and psychological damage.

Given that there were over 100 residential schools operating at various times across Canada, and that there are between 105,000 and 150,000 people still living who attended those schools, a thorough examination of all the attendant issues is neither intended nor possible within this piece. More detailed history of the schools, particularly the circumstances under which children were taken or sent there, which varied according to schools, time periods, cultural groups, nations, families, and individual children, might provide greater understanding of the subsequent and relative impacts and abuses. We have included little discussion of the fact that many individuals did have positive experiences at residential school; not out of a desire to silence or dismiss these facts, only that they are not germane to our immediate topic, which is the widespread abuse that did occur.

We began with the premise that sufficient documentation already exists to provide meaningful insight into survivor needs and expectations, and this has been amply supported. That there is an obligation to put this material to use before doing further primary source research, is underscored by a final comment in Breaking the Silence, the Assembly of First Nation's 1994 study on residential school impact and healing, where we are reminded:

"My story is a gift. If I give you a gift and you accept that gift,
then you don't go and throw that gift in the waste basket.
You do something with it."

Thousands of survivors have given the gift of their own stories, and of those who did not survive to speak for themselves. This presentation and analysis is one more step in the process of *doing something* to make sense of, and develop responses to a traumatic intervention that largely determined and defined the state of indigenous peoples today. Within the four months allotted for research, we have attempted to provide an overview that describes the issues of greatest concern to residential school survivors. We hope the report is a useful contribution in the process of reconciling and resolving the long outstanding and deeply troubling legacy of residential schools in Canada.

3. Objectives

This paper is intended to provide a review of the needs of victims of abuse in residential schools, and the outcomes they seek from the process of redress. Our goal is to obtain as complete and accurate a picture as possible of the needs and expectations of residential school survivors.

4. Language

The following terms are used in this report:

"Abuse" refers to the physical, emotional, spiritual or mental wounding of children, including verbal and sexual maltreatment. It includes any acts of commission or omission which harm or threaten to harm a child,[1] by the person having charge of the child, or by others, where the adult in charge knows or should know of the possibility of harm. It is important to stress here inclusion of the concept of spiritual violence, as it is one that tends to be overlooked by the dominant culture. Spiritual abuse is defined as behaviors and situations which deny or undermine a child's identity, values and beliefs. This form of violence includes denying an individual the expression of their language, their way of praying, for example, as well as ridiculing or shaming their way of life.[2] A more detailed definition of abuse is found in the Ontario legislation below.[3]

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[1] Lee Ann Hoff, People in Crisis: Understanding and Helping, 2nd ed., Don Mills: Addison Wesley, 1984, p.230

In an institutional or systemic context, "abuse" means human rights violations, including physical, sexual and mental harm, genocide, torture, disappearance, arbitrary and prolonged detention, slavery and slavery-like practices, civilian repression and systemic discrimination.[4]

The terms "victim" and "survivor" occur throughout this discussion, to describe persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss, or substantial impairment of human rights through abuse. According to this definition, "victims" not only means individuals who have suffered abuses themselves, but also relatives, dependents, loved ones, and communities.[5]

"Victim" and "survivor" remain in this work for convenience and brevity, but use of these words is problematic in two ways. Repetitive and prolonged trauma in childhood, particularly sexual abuse, is integrated into a child's life and, in one way or another, conditions that individual's beliefs, feelings, behaviour and sexuality. To describe someone as a "victim" or a "survivor" of abuse can minimize the internalized dysfunction that can occur as a result of the long-term and pervasive nature of the abuse. Secondly, these terms overgeneralize a person's identity as a survivor of childhood trauma, thereby discounting those aspects of the person which currently function in healthy and productive ways.[6] They perpetuate an association with a history of abuse that many wish to leave behind; this is why, for example, the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council's work is titled, "*Beyond* Survival".[7]

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[2] Assembly of First Nations, Breaking the Silence: An Interpretive Study of Residential School Impact and Healing as Illustrated by the Stories of First Nations Individuals. Ottawa: Assembly of First Nations, 1994, p.189

[3] *Ontario Child and Family Services Act*: II. Definition of Abuse

Subsection 72(1) of the *Child and Family Services Act* defines "to suffer abuse" as meaning to be "in need of protection" within the meaning of clause 37(2)(a),(c),(e),(f) or (h);

(a) the child has suffered physical harm, inflicted by the person having charge of the child or caused by that person's failure to care and provide for or supervise and protect the child adequately;

(c) the child has been sexually molested or sexually exploited, by the person having charge of the child or by another person where the person having charge of the child knows or should know of the possibility of sexual molestation or sexual exploitation and fails to protect the child;

(e) the child requires medical treatment to cure, prevent or alleviate physical harm or suffering and the child's parent or the person having charge of the child does not provide, or refuses or is unavailable or unable to consent to, the treatment;

(f) the child has suffered emotional harm, demonstrated by severe, (i) anxiety, (ii) depression, (iii) withdrawal, or (iv) self-destructive or aggressive behaviour,

and the... person having charge of the child does not provide, or refuses or is unavailable or unable to consent to, services or treatment to remedy or alleviate the harm; or

(h) the child suffers from a mental, emotional or or developmental condition that, if not remedied, could seriously impair the child's development and the ...person having charge of the child does not provide...treatment to remedy or alleviate the condition. (p.6)

[4] Mark Gannage, "An International Perspective: A Review and Analysis of Approaches to Addressing Past Institutional or Systemic Abuse in Selected Countries", Draft Report to Law Commission of Canada, 1998, p.3

[5] Gannage, 1998

"Inuit" means "people" in Inuktitut, and refers to decendents of people who migrated across the Bering Sea approximately 1,000 - 4,500 years ago and settled across the Canadian Arctic.

Métis means people who identify themselves as members of that distinct cultural group. Originally descendants of European fathers and Indian mothers, in present day Canada, the reverse is also true. Lacking status or treaties, and excluded from the Indian Act, the Métis are also unique in a legal sense.[8]

The term "aboriginal people" refers to "those people inhabiting or existing in a land from the earliest times or from before the arrival of colonists"[9], and is used interchangeably with "native people" to describe descendents of the indigenous, pre-colonial inhabitants of what is now Canada. "First Nation" describes a community of people who identify themselves as aboriginal, and the individuals who are members of that nation. Not all aboriginal people identify themselves as First Nations; the Inuit, Dene, and Métis, for example, do not.[10]

Although some individuals and groups have retained or are reclaiming the term "Indian" as a positive identity, it remains offensive to many. Other than in testimony where native people themselves use this descriptor, the word "Indian" is used only in particular contexts, where it accurately reflects historical wording or attitudes.

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[6] Adrienne Crowder & Rob Hawkings, Opening The Door: A Treatment Model for Therapy with Male Survivors of Sexual Abuse, Ottawa: Health & Welfare Canada (National Clearinghouse on Family Violence), 1993

[7] Ron Hamilton, Nuu-chah-nulth Health Board researcher, in conversation, June 1998

[8] Saskatchewan Education, "Indian and Métis Staff Development", Regina: Saskatchewan Education, 1994

[9] The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 9th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995

[10] AFN, 1994, p.189

My name is Aurora. I am from a small band in the Northwest Territories. I am forty six years old. I am married to Charlie. We have six children. One of my children just died of cancer. She was twenty six years old. I never went to her funeral. I couldn't because I can't go into a church. I haven't been able to go inside a church for many years. There have been so many deaths in my family. I have never gone to their funerals either. I just can't. There are Elders in the community who say that I will go to hell. Maybe I will, but I don't think so. When I was six years old I went to residential school.

5. Methodology

In mid-June 1998, we set out to gather existing material documenting the experiences and opinions of residential school survivors. Recognizing that much of this material would not be widely published or circulated, we wrote to 273 individuals and organizations across Canada. An introductory letter explained that we felt it inappropriate to conduct first-hand research directly with survivors, when the views of many must already be on record.

Our request for recorded information was sent to,

- 44 Aboriginal publications/media organizations (including 5 northern papers with largely Aboriginal circulation);
- 103 Friendship Centres, who, as major sources of community information and referral, we felt would be knowledgeable and aware of residential school activities and initiatives in their area;
- 136 individual authors, researchers, lawyers, members of First Nations organizations, RCMP, and church representatives known to be involved in residential school issues.

The material we gathered is listed in the bibliography.

In our efforts to obtain as complete and accurate a picture as possible of the needs and expectations of victims of abuse in residential schools, we studied over 8000 pages of material relevant to this topic, including reports from conferences and school reunions, research papers, program descriptions and proposals, newspaper files, the Royal Commission, and contemporary books examining residential school issues from anthropological, sociological, and political perspectives. Most existing material about residential schools is based on and draws from the firsthand experience and analysis of survivors of that system.

In searching out these documents, we inevitably found ourselves talking to survivors themselves. We also talked to people whose lives have been spent struggling with the aftermath of residential schools: children and grandchildren of survivors, program directors, counsellors, researchers and writers themselves. In addition to providing or directing us to the recorded material we sought, they shared their stories, perceptions, and insights, which we recorded. Many people also pointed out that, quite appropriately, much of the conversation and activity taking place in response to residential school abuse is not being recorded in any form; these firsthand descriptions and explanations are often the only source of information on new and current initiatives.

All of which left us with a bit of a methodological challenge: how to synthesize so many different kinds of data, about so many different but related issues. Unlike theory based analysis, which examines data *a priori*, according to pre-existing concepts such as those used to formulate a questionnaire --- this approach required us to study the information first, to identify the kinds of responses that would emerge. Data based analysis is driven by the data itself -- *a postiori* -- an examination of frequently occurring events, or in this case, issues and themes.

As we read books and listened to testimony, we tagged statements that reflected a "statement of need", or an "expectation" with regard to response or redress of residential school abuse; very broadly, statements that identified "what survivors want". We tagged statements where survivors identified a deficiency or inadequacy in the status quo. We also highlighted recommendations, proposed solutions, strategies and models for change, with respect to the aftermath of residential schools.

Once we established the major themes that described the needs and expectations for redress identified by survivors, we tested several ways of recording and counting these statements in a database. Many speakers address subjects in an holistic manner, touching on several subjects within an overall important context: the pre-set rigid categories necessary to traditional databases were not functional or appropriate. Removing statements from their context is a practical problem; there are also ethical considerations in citing, and especially manipulating for statistical purposes, peoples' life stories and opinions. We struggled to balance and maintain respect for peoples' words and stories, with the understanding that a certain amount of analysis is necessary to effectively summarize needs and facilitate further action.

In order to see how the needs survivors of residential school abuse may have changed over time or according to the context in which they were expressed, (and also partly to give substance and academic credibility to narrative assertions), we selected four major sources to "number-crunch" and examine a variety of survivor statements in more detail. We focused on sources which presented the views of the most people, in order to obtain the greatest diversity and range of responses; this eliminated a number of studies and papers included in the literature review, that were based on the experience of 3 - 15 participants. Knockwood's book, containing the recollections and views of 26 people, was ruled out because of the difficulty of accurately tracking and attributing the stories and experiences in fragments described throughout.

We decided to focus on The Mush Hole[11], as it contained lengthy, undirected, verbatim testimony from 55 people with apparently diverse experiences. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) also contained whole transcripts of testimony, but in a context clearly recognizing and accepting that injustices have been done to aboriginal people. Indian Residential Schools and "Beyond Survival", the book and video produced by the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC) are extremely powerful, presenting the views of survivors in their own words. The Tribal Council's work was undertaken in a community and healing context, where relationships existed between participants, process was important, and a great deal of discussion about residential school issues had already taken place. Finally, we looked at First Nations newspapers where many people have expressed their views, usually with some degree of thought and analysis. As well as offering different environments and contexts for the expression of needs and expectations, these four sources represent views at different time periods over the past ten years.

While this analysis is interesting and points out some useful trends, we remind readers that "personal experience is not somehow more truthful when numbers are attached to them".[12] In addition to the trivialization of reducing an experience and its significance to numbers,[13] the endless search for ways to establish, characterize, and quantify damage can be one form of government procrastination; such research also tends to "(legitimate) the resolution of moral issues by empirical means"[14].

Because the merit of such a counting exercise is limited -- the numbers themselves have no absolute value -- much of the material presented here remains in its narrative form, where we find it more ethically represented and equally persuasive. Some of the most poignant statements and observations came from individuals in informal conversation, deserving inclusion in spite of anonymity. While narrative form may be experimental in social science, it is normative and well established within many cultures as the primary method of teaching and learning.[15]

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[11] Elizabeth Graham, The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools (Waterloo: Heffle Publishing) 1997

[12] Roland Chrisjohn, in presentation to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People

[13] AFN (1994) p.5

[14] Roland D. Chrisjohn, Sherri L. Young and others, The Circle Game: Shadows and Substance in the Indian Residential School Experience in Canada, Penticton: Theytus Books Ltd., 1997, p.244

Our findings and recommendations are based on both the qualitative and quantified information; they also draw from recommendations already made by several groups and individuals. We have included a variety of these earlier recommendations in their entirety as an appendix, in the belief that viewed together, the repetitive similarity and frequency of needs expressed by so many individuals and agencies demonstrates an undeniably sound and representative call for action.

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[15] For discussion of the authority of narrative ethnography, see for example Robin Ridington, Trail to Heaven: Knowledge and Narrative in a Northern Native Community, Iowa: Univ. of Iowa Press, 1988.

I went to residential school in Fort Resolution. There were a lot of us, we went on a bus. I remember my sisters crying when we left. My brothers, I think they wanted to cry but they didn't. They had very sad faces.

Before we left, my mother told us to be good and to do everything they told us to do. My sister who is two years older than me said that the nuns and brothers were ever strict and mean. My sister said that we have to speak English now except for mass when you speak in Latin. My sister told me that you would get a lickin if you spoke Dogrib. My sister told me to be quiet and obey everyone and I wouldn't get hurt. She told me only to speak to her when I was sure that no one was watching or we would both get a lickin.

6. History of Residential Schools

An historical background is essential to understanding the scope and magnitude of residential school impacts, the nature of abuses committed, how they were perpetrated and continued unchecked. Knowledge of the attitudes and policies behind the creation of the schools is key to understanding the grievances of former students, as these philosophies paved the way for what many perceive to be the most serious and damaging abuses committed within the residential school system.

6.1 Chronology of the Development of Residential Schools

The following chronology is a composite drawn from several sources, including Fournier and Crey, Thompson, Miller, the Assembly of First Nations, The Aboriginal Healing Foundation, The Royal Commission, Haig-Brown and others; their information varies, depending upon the sources used. A list of individual schools identified and their dates of operation is included as Appendix 2.

1620	Franciscans open the first boarding school for aboriginal children in New France, but give up by 1629 for lack of students. The Jesuits follow, moving schools closer to native villages, but still fail to attract students.
1668	Ursuline nuns establish a boarding school for girls, but also get discouraged.
1800s	Early Indian industrial schools established by various churches; attendance is not compulsory.
1820s	Homesteaders demand that Indians be somehow neutralized or removed from the land
1830	Jurisdiction over Indian Affairs becomes civilian, when it is clear that native people are no longer needed as military allies.
1845	Government report to the legislative assembly of Upper Canada recommends that Indian boarding schools be set up.
1846	Government is committed to Indian residential schooling. Major denominations operate schools in Manitoba, Alberta, and B.C.
1847	Ryerson Report supports creation of Industrial schools.
1857	Boarding schools established at Metakatla (1857) & Mission (1861?63?)
1867	British North America Act makes Indian Education a federal responsibility. Indian Day Schools being set up in accordance with

	Treaty provisions of 1850s.
1876	The Indian Act makes all native people wards (children) of the gov't.
1879	Davin Report[16] recommends industrial schools be established as the most effective means of "civilizing" the Indian population; residential schools are already being operated by various missions.
1880	11 schools operating.
1889	Dept. of Indian Affairs created, placing Indian Agents across the country. Day schools begin to be eliminated. Allegations and admission of physical and sexual abuse of girls by principal at Ruperts Land School in Selkirk; principal reprimanded.
1892	Order-in-Council regulates the operation of Indian Residential Schools; a formal partnership is established between government and churches.
1896	45 schools operating; 11 are in B.C., with 1500 students. 24 are "Industrial Schools", generally located further away from native communities, intended for 14-18 year-olds, but younger children did attend. Girls trained in domestic duties, sewing, laundry, cleaning, cooking; boys in agriculture, carpentry, shoemaking, and blacksmithing. Boarding schools developed for younger children; these are generally smaller, located in or near native communities. Both Industrial and Boarding schools place heavy emphasis on religious instruction, and allow only half days for academic studies.
1900	39 industrial schools operating. General concern about their lack of success; students not fitting into white society, nor doing well back in their home communities. Large drop in native population (from disease and starvation), and immigration that was meeting Canada's labour needs, call vocational training policy into question.
1904	Residential schools have a deficit of $50,000.
1907	Bryce Report on appalling health conditions in the schools.
1909	Approximately 88 schools operating.
1910	Policy shift to isolation and segregation of native people, intended to return students to reserves with minimal basic skills. Focus changes from vocational/industrial training to practical rural tasks and skills. Some industrial schools close, most just become known as "Indian Residential Schools"; Industrial School model completely abandoned by 1922.
1912	3904 students in residential schools.
1920	Mandatory education for children age 7 - 15 introduced. Numbers in

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[16] Nicholas F. Davin, "Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Halfbreeds", Ottawa: 1879

	residential schools increase.
1930	75% of native 7-15 year-olds in residential schools. 3/4 of those working at or below grade 3 level, with only 3% going beyond grade 6.
1931	Over 80 schools operating across Canada.
1932	8213 students enrolled, with about 250 in grades 9 - 13.
1938	Per capita grant paid by federal gov't to schools per student = $180; in the U.S. it is $294 - $642.
1945	9,149 students enrolled; only slightly more than 100 beyond a grade 8 level, and none beyond grade 9.
1946-48	Special Joint Committee of Senate and House of Commons recommends Indian children be educated in mainstream schools.
1940s-50s	Inuit children begin to be transported to residential schools and hostels.
1950	Over 40% of residential school staff have no professional training.
1951	Indian Act shifts from segregation to integration. Some students begin to attend secular day schools where accessible. Many from smaller communities and remote areas remain in Indian Residential Schools.
1950s	Standard curricula introduced; official end of 1/2 day labour program.
1957	Per capita grants replaced with controlled cost funding.
1960s	Approximately 10,000 students attending 60 schools.
1969	Church partnerships ended; federal government takes direct control of residential schools. 60% of native students are in provincial day schools. 7740 students enrolled in 52 residential schools.
1970	Blue Quills IRS is the first school to come under First Nations control.
1972	National Indian Brotherhood calls for an end to federal control of native schooling.
1979	1899 students remain in 12 residential schools.
1983(84?)	Last residential school, New Christie at Tofino, B.C., closes. Hostels continue to operate.

From the mid-1800s to 1970, up to one third of all aboriginal children were confined in residential schools, many for the majority of their childhoods.[17] In reviewing the numbers of students attending, it should be noted that many Métis children were taken into the schools without being named on the school registers. Federal funding was only provided for Treaty Indians, so dependent Métis children were often accepted covertly by the churches; sometimes they were kept solely as labourers, not allowed meals, but rather dependent on scraps from staff tables.[18]

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[17] Suzanne Fournier and Ernie Crey, Stolen From Our Embrace: The Abduction of First Nations Children and Restoration of Aboriginal Communities. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd., 1997, p.50

[18] Gene Rheaume, Board of Directors, Aboriginal Healing Foundation, correspondence, Sept. 1998

6.2 Policies and Attitudes

The evolution of Residential Schools had four distinct phases, reflecting government policy shifts in the treatment of aboriginal peoples. These can be characterized as follows:

~1840s - 1910:	Assimilation. The goal was to make Indians indistinguishable from Europeans.
1910 - 1951:	Segregation. Assimilation seemed unlikely, so native people should be educated for and restricted to life in their own communities.
1951 - ~1970	Integration. Native people should be absorbed into mainstream institutions and society.
1970 - onward	Growing trend to self-determination and native control, (within limits).[19]

From first contact, the goal of the European missionaries was clear; they were to convert the aboriginal people to whatever form of Christianity their own particular church espoused. To do this, it was necessary that they educate the "natives" so that not only could they understand what conversion meant, but that they could become "civilized" enough to be able to appreciate European values and become assimilated into a European way of life. These attitudes were supported by government, and until recently, by Canadians as a whole.[20]

Founder of the Oblates, Eugene de Mazenod wrote, "Every means should therefore be taken to bring the nomad tribes to abandon their wandering life and to build houses, cultivate fields and practice the elementary crafts of civilized life."[21] Grant, Haig-Brown, and others document that, "the destruction of the children's link to their ancestral culture and their assimilation into the dominant society were the main objectives"[22] of federal Indian education policy, and ones with which the missionaries agreed.

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[19] AFN (1994), pp.13-19

[20] E. R. Daniels, "How Similar? How Different? The Patterns of Education for Indian and non-Indian Students in Canada", prepared for R.C.A.P., December 1992. p.5

[21] Margaret Whitehead, The Cariboo Mission: A History of the Oblates. Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1981. p. 118, quoted in Haig-Brown, p. 29

[22] E. Brian Titley, A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988. p.75

Dr. Egerton Ryerson, Chief Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada, largely determined the nature and policies guiding the education provided to Indian children. His 1847 report to the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada stated,

"Their education must consist not merely of the training of the mind, but of a weaning from the habits and feelings of their ancestors, and the acquirements of the language, arts and customs of civilized life."[23] Author Agnes Grant observes that this document made cultural oppression, long an integral part of the mission schools, government policy.[24]

In her detailed research into two Ontario residential schools, Elizabeth Graham wrote,

"Separating children from parents is what boarding-schools do, but at Indian Residential School the goal of eradicating "Indianness" was added to the process. The schools excluded the Native culture by removing the children from their homes, restricting their holidays, and not allowing them to communicate with their parents in their Native language. After 1872 students could not even speak their Native language amongst themselves. Visits and conversations between brothers and sisters were forbidden or severely restricted. Parents were often described as 'interfering'. The administrators of the schools even saw themselves as protecting the children from their parents - parents were considered a bad influence or immoral, with dirty, unhealthy houses; sick and dying children would be more comfortable at the Institute."[25]

In 1879, the federal government was looking for models for Indian schooling; N.F. Davin was commissioned to report on the American Industrial Schools for Native people in the U.S. His positive recommendations resulted in the establishment of many residential schools across Canada. Davin reported that, "the industrial school is the principal feature of the policy known as 'aggressive civilization'."[26] While endorsing the notion of residential schools for Indians in Canada, Davin noted, "... if anything is to be done with the Indian, we must catch him very young."[27]

Davin's view was supported by the Secretary of State for the Provinces, Hector Langevin, speaking in Parliament in 1883:

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[23] Celia Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School. Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988 p.25; also in Grant, p.59

[24] Agnes Grant, No End of Grief: Indian Residential Schools In Canada. Winnipeg: Pemmican Publ.Inc.,1996, p. 59

[25] Graham, p.40

[26] Nicholas F.Davin, "Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Halfbreeds", Ottawa: 1879, p.1; in Haig-Brown, p.26

[27] Davin, p.12. (in Haig-Brown, p.26)

"The fact is, that if you wish to educate the children you must separate them from their parents during the time they are being taught. If you leave them in the family they may know how to read and write, but they will remain savages, whereas by separating them in the way proposed, they acquire the habits and tastes... of civilized people."[28]

An 1892 editorial in the *Calgary Herald* supported Indian residential schools, as education in them would prove, "the means of wiping out the whole Indian establishment."[29] J.R. Miller points out that residential schools are a subset of a complex of legislation and programs designed to control and reshape Aboriginal political behaviour. These efforts ranged from attempts to coerce Native hunters to become sedentary subsistence farmers, to outlawing of traditional Aboriginal customs. While politicians and settlers believed these were legitimate and justified actions, they were based in an assumption that Native people were morally inferior to Caucasians.[30]

The politics of the 19th century are relevant to the development of residential schools. The formation of Manitoba in 1870, partly to prevent annexation by the United States; and BC joining Canada in 1871, with the understanding that a railway would be built to link it with the rest of the country, were events reflecting a general feeling that the west must be filled with European settlers as quickly as possible.[31] Treaties were signed, often unwillingly, by Indians demoralized by their rapid decrease in numbers and threatened by the disappearance of their food sources; many saw the treaties as their only prospect for survival. Examples of resistance, both in the U.S. and by the Métis in Manitoba, were not promising. "Once the treaties were signed, Indians were out of sight and largely out of mind, isolated on more than two thousand reserves," created largely for the government's own administrative convenience.[32]

Canadians in general do not recognize that treaty-making and the creation of reserves were undertaken for the benefit of European settlers. Reserves tended to be established in agriculturally inferior areas; most were intentionally located in areas where they would not interfere with the white economic development. In the treaty process, along with guaranteed small land allocations, gratuities and annuities, each band received the promise of a school. John Tootoosis identifies the failure to keep this particular promise as a great blow to the Indians.[33]

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[28] Indian Tribes of Manitoba, Wahbung: Our Tomorrows. Manitoba: Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, 1971. p.113 in Grant, p.64

[29] Calgary Herald, editorial, "Our Indian Schools" (10 Feb 1892) in Miller, p.183

[30] J. R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools. Toronto: University of Toronto Press,1996, p.186

[31] Grant, p.61

[32] Grant, p.62

Amid these political developments, changes to the Indian Act were significant. The Indian Act and the Indian Advancement Act, both of 1884, extended the authority of Chiefs in Council to make rules regarding the education of children on reserves. But the 1894 amendments began a trend away from local control to more centralized departmental control over both the nature of Indian schools and attendance.[34] Compulsory attendance for children "of Indian blood" under age sixteen was introduced, along with powers to arrest, convey, and detain children at school. The amendments also provided for fines or imprisonment of parents or guardians who failed to send their children to the schools.[35]

Deputy Superintendent General Duncan Campbell Scott influenced federal Indian policy for over twenty years, expounding a firm belief in assimilation, "the further development of the race toward its ultimate goal, that is, its absorption into the ordinary civil life of the country." In a 1920 House of Commons discussion of changes to the Indian Act, Scott stated clearly the idea that Indian cultures as such were to be eliminated,

> "I want to get rid of the Indian problem... Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian department, that is the whole object of this Bill."[36]

Periodic protest against such policies, and against the schools themselves, did occur. A report commissioned in 1927, stated,

> "The philosophy underlying the establishment of boarding schools, that the way to "civilize" the Indian is to take Indian children, even very young children, as completely as possible away from their home and family life, is at variance with modern views of education and social work, which regard the home and family as essential social institutions from which it is generally undesirable to uproot

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[33] Grant, p.63

[34] Daniels, p.10

[35] Canada, 57-58 Victoria, c.32, s.11, cited in Daniels, p.11

[36] Haig Brown, p.27, citing Miller, Kahn-tineta and George Lerchs, The Historical Development of the Indian Act (Ottawa(?): Treaties and Historical Research Branch, P.R.E. Group, I&NA) 1978, p. 114

children."[37] It obviously had little impact.

More recently, an American researcher in 1945 noted Canada's systematic attack on traditional Indian religion and cultural practices, and concluded that the dominion's purpose was assimilation. He observed that Canada chose to eliminate Indians by assimilating them, unlike Americans, who had long sought to exterminate them physically. The American official found, "In other words, the extinction of the Indians *as Indians* is the ultimate end" of Canadian Indian policy.[38]

In 1947 a paper was submitted to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons Appointed to Examine and Consider the Indian Act. It was titled, "Plan for Liquidating Canada's Indian Problems within 25 Years", recommending the abolition of Indian reserves and the establishment of an integrated education system as the basis for assimilation."[39] Haig-Brown notes that while the new Indian Act did not differ much from previous legislation, it did mark the end of many residential schools because it allowed for Indian attendance in the public school system.

By the 1950s, residential schools were being used to serve substantial child welfare and social development purposes, as well as educational functions. In an effort to limit operational costs, the federal government articulated a policy that called for:
(1) admitting to residential schools only those children who required institutional care for social or family reasons, and children living in communities without schools;
(2) opening more day schools on reserves and improving access to them;
(3) subsidizing the enrollment of Indian children into non-Indian schools.[40]

Between 1947 and 1958, the number of Indian children attending provincial (non-residential) schools rose from 200 to more than 7,000.[41] But the "social and family reasons" requiring the removal of native children to residential schools continued to be determined by government and church authorities as long as the schools remained.

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[37] Jon Reyhner and Jeane Eded, "A History of Indian Education," in Teaching American Indian Students. ed. Jon Reyhner, Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1988, pp. 35-40. in Grant, p56

[38] Allan G. Harper, "Canada's Indian Administration: Basic Concepts and Objectives". Americana Indigena 5,2 (April 1945) p.127. Quoted in Miller, pp.184-5

[39] "Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence No.1" (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1947) in Haig-Brown, p.28

[40] Noel Dyck, Differing Visions: Administering Indian Residential Schooling in Prince Albert 1867-1995. Prince Albert Grand Council, 1997, p.61

[41] Dyck, p.71

Regardless of name changes -- boarding schools, industrial schools, or residential schools -- the institutions remained “total institutions”, where large numbers of children lived, cut off from society, separated from family and community for long periods of time. There seems little doubt that the cultural devastation attributed to the residential schools, and the abuses perpetrated with the explicit goal of eradicating Native ways, are a direct result of government policies and the actions of churches contracted to implement them.

When we got to the school, my sister said to be quiet and do everything they told us to do. She said that she would talk to me when she could. My sister looked very sad and this scared me. I remember that it was almost lunch time and I was very hungry. I was put in a large room with other kids, some were bigger than me, but not many. There were a lot of my friends from home there and I wanted to talk to them but I remembered what my sister said. A nun told us all to take off our clothes and go to the bathroom. In the room, I remember that they scrubbed us very hard. Some of the kids cried and the nuns got mad at them. It was very hard that first year. I saw my brothers and sisters a lot but I was never allowed to speak to them. I remember a Father saying we were savages. I did not know what this was but I knew it was bad. I don't remember a lot when I was young, only that I was always scared and that I wanted to go home.

7. The Experience of Abuse

This sections presents the types of abuse identified and described in some of the sources we examined. A brief background in the lifestyles children were coming from, helps to provide a context for their subsequent experiences at school.

7.1 Life Before School

Early childhood memories are important, partly to illustrate that, for all their diversity in language and culture, First Nations share remarkably similar approaches to child-rearing. Children are placed at the heart of a belief system closely aligned with the natural world. The economic and social survival of indigenous societies depended on the transmission of a vast amount of spiritual and practical knowledge from elders to the young, through an exclusively oral tradition.[42]

While snapshots of early life help provide insight into the feelings of children abruptly removed from familiar environments, they should not imply that the impact of residential school abuse is somehow relative to to earlier circumstances or experience.

Isabelle Knockwood[43] writes about the storytelling circles she was allowed to listen to as a child, where stories based on thousands of years of experience in living off the land emphasized the value of living harmoniously with all things; a vast wealth of history, knowledge, medicine, geography, geneology, and skills for living well was carried in the minds of the elders. Values imparted to children included responsibility for the protection of others, appropriate manners, and participation in family work; the strength of family bonds is clear in a description of sleeping arrangements at camp.

"Daddy would sit at one side of the lean-to and tend the fire, while Mom sat on the other side with us five kids in between...when we woke up in the morning, they were still there. It seemed to me they were guarding their children all through the night."[44]

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[42] Fournier & Crey, p. 52

[43] Isabelle Knockwood, Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia. Lockeport, NS: Roseway Publishing, 1992

[44] Knockwood, p. 17

Knockwood and others recall knowing they were loved and cared for at home, often despite conditions of poverty. "Even though you were hungry and dirty, you knew that you were being loved because when there was food, you were the first one to be fed."[45] Throughout her book, Knockwood compares and contrasts traditional ways and early childhood experiences with the foreign, alienating and harsh methods and attitudes of the nuns and priests who ran Shubenacadie school.

Willie Blackwater relates how the best years of his life were the first ten that he spent being raised by his grandparents in the village of Kispiox.[46] He describes how they taught and corrected him without ever raising a hand or voice; "If I did something wrong, my grandfather would tell me a long story, and I had to figure out for myself its meaning and what it told me about what I had done." While his grandmother had her own traditional spirituality, she also brought him to the United Church. "She was always teaching. She'd cook wonderful things and tell me why it was so important to have respect for everything on earth that feeds us."

Rosalyn Ing's study participants[47] all described being raised in kind and loving environments, where elders provided role modelling and told stories to teach, and children learned by imitating, listening, and observing. Work was required of children, but age was taken into account in those expectations; the extended family had an important role in nurturing and raising the young. For all participants, early learning was in their mother tongue; two of the three speakers described how learning and expectations of children were incremental, and one man described his parents as having an intuitive knowledge of the stages of child development. Learning values, of kindness, respect for all people, honesty, keeping faith in the Creator, and working, were an important part of early learning for children.[48]

Haig-Brown's informants have many memories of life before school, most of them positive. Their memories similarly focus on methods of teaching and learning, the work expected of children, and for many, a loving environment.

"Coming from a large family, we all had chores to do as soon as we were able to pick up anything and then there was always a baby. Being the oldest...there I was at the age of seven, six, already babysitting... And then we worked out in the garden we packed wood, we done all these chores."[49]

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[45] Bernie Knockwood, in Knockwood, p.20

[46] Fournier & Crey, p.64

[47] Rosalyn Ing, "The Effects of Residential Schooling on Native Child-Rearing Practices." University of British Columbia: Master's Thesis, also published in "Canadian Journal of Native Education", Vol. 18: 1991.

[48] Ing, pp. 53-54

James Miller's study of Walpole Island[50] adds another dimension to the picture of life before school; several of his subjects spoke of the terrible poverty at home, widespread unemployment throughout the Depression, and a number of parents who sent their children to the residential school just to know that they would be fed. Several speakers recalled World War II as a traumatic event in their lives, when some 70 men were absent from the community; Walpole Islanders are clear that not all children left a secure and happy environment when they went to residential school. The Assembly of First Nations study group[51] included one person who described stealing milk as a child, to feed himself and his siblings while his parents were "off drinking", and another who lived in an unpredictable environment of alcohol and violence.[52]

The authors of Breaking The Silence point out, that regardless of how the family environment is evaluated, at least it was familiar to the children. Whether, in retrospect, the children's world appears safe or threatening, in either case, children found ways to cultivate and hold on to a sense of well-being.[53] There are very few circumstances in life where one's world is changed so completely, by immersion in a new world that requires adjustment to new language, foods, customs, and behaviors. The difficulty of this is compounded, when contact and support from the old world is severed. It is this removal, from the familiar to the completely strange, that many former students identify as the beginning of a profound and lasting trauma.

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[49] Ing, p.36

[50] James Miller and Edmund Danziger, "In the Care of Strangers: Walpole Island First Nation's Experiences with Canadian Residential Schools Since World War I", (unpublished) October 1997

[51] AFN (1994)

[52] AFN (1994) p.22

[53] AFN, p.22

On the fourth year I was there, my sister and I were called to the Father's office late one night. Father told us to lie down on the cot. Father told us to taken off our underpants. My sister laid beside me with her arm around me. Father told my sister to touch me on my private parts and rub me there while he watched. This was the only time that I remember touching my sister. I knew that what we did was wrong. I felt dirty and ashamed and I knew that I was going to go to hell. My sister and I have never talked about that to this day, the shame is too much.

7.2 Types of Abuse

Isabelle Knockwood's book about Shubenacadie school, Out of the Depths, begins by describing the trauma of separation from parents, and within the school, the strict separation of siblings; initiation with haircuts and issue of prison-like clothing; the constant coldness of dormitories, lack of nighttime care for small children, and censorship of communication. The enforced separation from family members had a life-long effect for many.[54] The most vivid memories are of isolation and of being punished for speaking Mi'kmaw; small children who understood no English were effectively silenced until they learned it. By the time they left school, speakers describe knowing very little of their language.

Brutal and arbitrary punishment was a daily feature of school life; public beatings and humiliations, head-shaving, and being kept in locked closets on bread and water for days are described. Constant hunger, poor food, an obsession with attendance at Mass, confiscation of gifts and personal possessions, ill-fitting clothes and shoes, and failure to distribute available clothing to the children, were common memories.

A chapter focused on "Work and Play" describes the learning environment in the school; "We were forcibly disconnected from everything our parents and elders had taught us, and everything new was learned in an atmosphere of fear."[55] The shame of Native ancestry was deeply reinforced. Children were graded not by academic achievement but by size; because the grade five students had to be able to reach and manage heavy machinery, several small students stayed in grade four for three or four years.

A complete farming operation at Shubenacadie was worked by male students aged twelve to sixteen; older boys who tended the boilers never went to classes. Knockwood notes that because so much time was spent in physical labour, few boys developed more than minimal educational skills; several recount their illiteracy on discharge from Residential School. Girls worked only slightly less hours at laundry, kitchen, and institutional cleaning; they also made pottery which the author learned was sold at agricultural fairs. Industrial accidents that maimed some students are also described.

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[54] Knockwood, p.41
[55] Knockwood, p.50

"Rewards and Punishments" is an even more detailed chapter recounting the horrific but apparently unexceptional physical, emotional and sexual abuse perpetrated by the nuns and priests. It contains descriptions of beatings, children thrown across rooms, humiliation, sick children beaten and forced to eat vomit, sexual fondling, and the atmosphere of terror this created. Many punishments had a sexual character or association, or were inflicted for resisting sexual interference; a variety of whips, paddles and tortures are described. One speaker recalled being given a bag of knotted whips to burn in the furnace when the school inspectors were coming.[56]

Knockwood discusses the lack of public knowledge, and later lack of church acknowledgement, of the atrocities committed at the school. She analyzes how the school was able to maintain a benevolent facade in spite of parental, public and individual inquiries, including a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the flogging of 19 boys by the priest in 1934.

Elizabeth Furniss[57] relates how, during the first 30 years of the operation of the Williams Lake school, complaints were made by parents, local white settlers, and Indian Affairs officials, about the conditions of deprivation and brutality inflicted on students at St.Joseph's. Departmental investigations were conducted in 1899, 1902, and 1920, but a variety of explanations and vested interests led to the concerns of children and their families being dismissed. The main focus of the research is on the inquiries conducted into the deaths of two children, and the process by which the Oblates were exonerated and native concerns dismissed.

Such protests and investigations occurred at many schools throughout their history, inevitably resulting in the discrediting of native people, and reinforcement of the institution's total control.

Agnes Grant begins her book with an analysis of hair-cutting as a key part of rituals of cross-cultural domination around the world. Grant's introduction describes the spiritual significance of the braid, symbolizing the unity of mind, body, and spirit, essential to human life. Addressing the symbolic and very real devastation caused by this routine introduction to residential school, she asks, "How can we understand today the feelings of the senior students as they were told to shave the heads of the horrified little children?"[58] Haircutting was also a common form of punishment, the effects of which have often been unrecognized. Grant cites one woman whose hair was abruptly cut off when she slipped into Mohawk while playing with a friend; after that incident, when she tried to speak her language, she couldn't, and has not been able to speak Mohawk since.[59]

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[56] Knockwood, pp.93-95

[57] Elizabeth Furniss, Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake Residential School. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1995.

Explaining the difficult necessity of examining the past, in spite of the pain it causes, Grant speaks of the children who died alone and unloved, away from family, buried by school officials in soil foreign to their ancestors. Although tuberculosis was rampant in all Native communities, "the anguish of parents who did not know whether their children were dying alone cannot be comprehended today."[60] Uncovering such pain is traumatic; Grant reports that her student researchers were shaken by their experiences and felt overwhelmingly guilty for having revived memories long buried in silence.[61]

Grant reviews the 1973 Federation of Saskatchewan Indians study, "Report on Indian Education in Saskatchewan", which called education a matter of tragic proportions where, "generation after generation of Indian youth was being destroyed, confined to a life of despair, frustration and indignity." That report identified many problems with Indian education, the absence of regulations and orders, breach of treaties, lack of parental participations, and no safeguarding of the essential role of parents in the education of children.

She documents the extent of child labour in residential schools, noting that in many places during the summers, students were boarded out to settler families where they were welcomed as a source of cheap labour[62] ; she also discusses the increasingly coercive nature of the system, that the large industrial schools in particular were established well away from home communities in order to decrease contact between students and their families.

Among examples of the many abuses she found, Grant discusses the arranged marriages that were conducted at the Lebret school at File Hills; one survivor whose parents were part of the experiment reported that her parents were matched up and told who they would marry; "These couples didn't even go together or know each other, they weren't even in love with each other." The author notes that principals and Indian agent took liberties which far exceeded their mandate; they took students from far afield and purposely arranged for partners from different language groups, so that Indian languages would not be perpetuated in the homes.[63]

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[58] Grant, p.19
[59] Grant, p.20
[60] Grant, p.21
[61] Grant, p.25
[62] Grant, p.65

Grant found that,

"Not every child experienced sexual and physical abuse, but every child experienced the devaluing of parents and culture. Psychological and spiritual abuse were institutionalized, no child could escape the debilitating consequences of being victimized and brainwashed. ...since the children were taught to abhor how their parents lived, no more diabolical plot could have been conceived to destroy the harmony . . .and effectiveness of the culture."[64]

We mention only briefly the harms described in other books and studies; to a large extent, the themes are consistent.

Nuu-chah-nulth researchers[65] used the following framework to describe the types of abuse that took place in residential schools:

i. Separation from family
ii. Physical conditions at the schools
iii. Loss of Native Language
iv. Abuse (emotional, physical, sexual, spiritual)
v. Child Labour

Each section contains extensive survivor testimony about these abuses, often with insight into the effects it has had on themselves, their families, communities and culture.

Miller and Danziger, whose conclusion was that the residential school experience did not fundamentally influence the course of community life in Walpole Island, found that the three greatest problems faced by the Walpole children at the schools were a lack of proper foods, a lack of nurturing, and in some cases an excessive use of physical punishment.

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[63] Grant, pp.156-157

[64] Grant, pp.224-225

[65] Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, Indian Residential Schools: The Nuu-chah-nulth Experience. Port Alberni: NTC, 1996

Dr. Roland Chrisjohn's study findings[66] included that residential schools were rated as significantly more harsh and overcrowded than non-residential schools; former students report spending less time on academic work and recall their time in school as significantly less happy than non-residential respondents. They had much less recreation and free time, and spent much more time on manual labour and chores; a much larger proportion of the residential school day was spent receiving religious instruction and participating in religious ceremonies. Many of the residential schools disciplinary practices were "bordering on (and sometimes passing into) the realm of physical torture".[67] In looking at the extent of sexual abuse, 89 study respondents indicated they had been sexually abused, 38 responded "no", and 60 declined to answer the question. Depending on whether the non-respondents are excluded or counted as "no", a range of 48%-70% of respondents had been sexually abused.[68]

In The Mush Hole, the overall school experience of former students at Mount Elgin and Mohawk schools ranges from very positive, people who credit the schools with giving them useful skills and positive attitudes, to those who describe the schools as "concentration camps". Treatment of children described includes severe beatings, and use of electric shocks to "cure" bedwetting. Both the administrative letters and the stories of students, whose dates of attendance range from the early 1900s to the late 1960s, demonstrate huge variation in treatment of children, most significantly according to the attitude of the principal at any given time.

Dr. Jim Miller's research includes extensive documentation of the child labour which supported the schools, and of discipline which "...too easily deteriorated into severity and even abuse.[69] He describes "favorite punishments", such as forcing children to kneel in a public place with arms outstretched for hours, hair cutting and head shaving, and lengthy confinement in dark closets on bread and water. He cites several individual cases, such as a runaway girl in the late 1940s who received one hundred blows from the strap and had her hair cut off with garden shears by the principal ...then her head was shaved; boys burned with cigarette lighters and beaten with a bunch of five (preferabbly studded) belts; a girl who was informed that her brother had died, and then taken into a room where she was bound and raped.

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[66] R. Chrisjohn, C. Belleau and Others, "Faith Misplaced: Lasting Effects of Abuse in a First Nations Community." Canadian Journal of Native Education, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1991, p. 161-197

[67] Chrisjohn et al, (1991), p.169

[68] Chrisjohn et al, (1991), p.173

[69] J. R. Miller, p.322

After twenty-five pages of atrocities, Miller notes, "Little wonder that Mel H. Buffalo... reported that 'every Indian person I have spoken to who attended these schools has a story of mental, physical or sexual abuse to relate.'[70]

The above summaries are only a fraction of the accounts and reports available, and then only of those that have been recorded. Our experience in merely gathering documents, was similar to Mel Buffalo's; with very few exceptions, whether former students were Inuit, Métis, or First Nations people, they have stories of abuse to tell. Before we can discuss redress of these events, there is a need to understand why such widespread phenomena of violence and degradation occurred, and attempt to understand its long term impacts.

> *Canadians must also realize that the strength and depth of indigenous culture has made (assimilation) policy a dismal failure. The intended victims of this policy suffered mightily and are still suffering, but they and their culture are still around and healthy enough to demand justice. It takes very deep and ancient roots to weather such a violent storm and emerge intact and growing.*
>
> ***Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples***

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[70] J.R. Miller, pp.318-333

When we were much older, I remember my sister telling me when she was drunk that Father had touched her private parts when she was in the infirmary. She had been skating. She fell down and got a bad cut. She hid this from the nuns because she knew if she showed them she would get a lickin. Her leg got worse, and she couldn't hide it anymore. One night, Father came in to the infirmary and said he wanted to see her leg. Father told her she was a lucky girl to be cared for and while he was talking to her, he slid his hands up her nightdress and felt her private parts.

7.3 Assessing the Extent and Nature of Residential School Abuse

> *Prior to the holocaust and other Nazi extermination policies, the term genocide did not exist; however, the actions of Britain and the settler governments in Australia and Canada clearly demonstrate that the practice of genocide did.*[71]

Early Canada inherited British legal and moral obligations to Native allies who had helped establish their territory in North America; it adopted the British policies of not killing these allies, and making treaties with them. The problem created, that has never been resolved, was how to occupy and make use of lands that had never been captured in war, ceded by legal agreement, or title otherwise -- in European terms -- legally terminated.[72]

Knowledge of the genocidal intent of the colonizers is well entrenched in aboriginal consciousness, but is still unknown and unrecognized by the larger Canadian public. That native people understand it clearly accounts for the unwillingness of many to deal with issues of abuse on a specific instance and case by case basis.

In the conclusion to No End of Grief, Agnes Grant examines residential schools in relation to each of the five points of *Article II* of the *United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (9 December 1948)*, which states,

"In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such:

a) Killing members of the group;
b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."[73]

We were also interested in the extent to which the testimony we gathered fell within this definition, and found it to be an effective method of analyzing activities in and around residential schools.

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[71] Australian Human Rights Commission Report on Aboriginal Injustices, in Grant
[72] Chrisjohn, (1997), pp.46-52
[73] Grant, p. 270

a) Killing members of the group

According to Grant, "Intentional killing, as such, did not take place...".[74] Others contend strongly that *intentional* killing was very much a fact in residential schools, citing the testimony of "...seven different eyewitnesses at the Vancouver Tribunal alone, who told of children observed being beaten to death, thrown from windows and kicked down stairs, to name just a few accounts."[75] In fact, Grant goes on to concede, "... but children did die in Residential schools in large numbers. Even among survivors today, there is knowledge of children who died as a result of beatings. The perpetrators were never punished; at best, they simply disappeared from the schools."[76]

At Shubenacadie school in Nova Scotia a number of students died, sometimes in ways that suggested to other children that their own lives were at risk; the deaths of two students following severe beatings are described. "Removal to the third floor infirmary after being beaten already threatened her death or permanent disappearance. For us, the infirmary became the place from which children vanished forever."[77]

> *Then the two of them got into it. After they were done beating her... you couldn't recognize her because one side of her face was all swollen -- her eye, her mouth and nose were all bloody. She stayed in that infirmary from that time on. Then we heard she was taken to the hospital. Then, sometime later, ...when Sister announced that she died because her bones were too big for her heart, I didn't believe her.*
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> ***Knockwood, p.108***

One of the women interviewed by Fournier and Crey, eighty-six at the time, reported witnessing the secret burial of a baby born at Kuper Island school to a terrified young girl. The archives from Kuper Island school reveal a litany of untimely deaths, most often children drowning in attempts to escape from the school.[78] Haig-Brown's 13 participants recount at least two preventable deaths among their peers as children.[79] Testimony from Alberni school survivors includes reports of uninvestigated deaths and falsified burial certificates; in 1937 four boys froze to death after running away from the Lejac school in only summer clothes.[80]

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[74] Grant, pp. 270

[75] Rev. K.D. Annett, correspondence, Sept. 1998

[76] Grant, pp. 270

[77] Knockwood, pp.107-8

[78] Fournier & Crey, pp. 58-9

[79] Haig-Brown, p.104

[80] "Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples" Vol. 1, Part II, Chapter 10: 'Residential Schools' Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 1996, p.368.

Investigations into deaths at Thunderchild school began in 1990, and in the Port Alberni school in 1995. Grant records survivor reports of a boy beaten to death at Elkhorn school; a young girl beaten to death at an unidentified school, and another survivor recalling a student beaten to death at his school.[81] Survivor testimony and research both support claims of suspicious, concealed or culpable deaths of many students at the schools. Fournier states, "At all periods of the schools' operation, it is certain that students died concealed deaths due to misadventure, abuse and neglect, which might be categorized -- had the schools ever been held culpable -- as criminal negligence, manslaughter and even murder."[82]

The death rate among school leavers is even more chilling; among the first twenty people we contacted in search of residential school documents, three had experienced as children the suicide of a parent who attended residential school.[83] Many survivor groups report the suicide of members; both the First Nations Summit of B.C. and the Royal Commission heard testimony from residential school victims who killed themselves shortly afterwards.[84] At least two of the complainants who testified in criminal prosecutions for abuse at residential school have since taken their own lives.

Grant's research led her to examine enrolment numbers, graduate numbers, and student lists which, in addition to the large numbers in prison, contained, "an inordinately high number of people who have passed away." She notes that few of Isabelle Knockwood's classmates lived to read her book; an Elder interviewed by Linda Bull estimated that ninety per cent of his classmates became alcoholic, dying premature and violent deaths.[85]

In 1990, the RCMP visited a small B.C. community to interview eight "probable" victims of fairly recent sexual abuse at a residential school, only to find that seven of the eight had already died, of which at least two were intentional suicides. This is not unusual in their experience. One of the many difficulties the RCMP report in investigating and prosecuting residential school crimes is that so many of the reported victims have died.[86]

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[81] Grant, p.134
[82] Fournier & Crey, p.58
[83] Contacts at Friendship Centres and aboriginal media across the country.
[84] Fournier & Crey, p.75
[85] Grant, p.26
[86] conversation with investigating officer, Sgt. Robert Grinstead, July 1998

Large numbers of children died of diseases, particularly tuberculosis. They were forcibly taken from their homes if parents did not agree to send them. In 1907, Dr. Bryce, Medical Examiner in Ontario, found that buildings were sub-standard and had no ventilation. It was into these facilities that students infected with various diseases, of which tuberculosis was the most lethal, were admitted."[87]

A 1902 report stated that, of 1700 pupils discharged from the Industrial schools,

"506 are known to be dead; 249 lost sight of; 139 in bad health; 86 transferred to other schools; 121 turned out badly and 599 said to be doing well."[88]

RCAP covered in detail the death rates in the schools, largely due to tuberculosis, quoting *Saturday Night's* conclusion that, "even war seldom shows as large a percentage of fatalities as does the education system we have imposed upon our Indian wards.[89] It notes the early opinion of S.H. Blake, Q.C., who felt that because the department had done nothing "to obviate the preventable causes of death, brings itself within unpleasant nearness to the charge of manslaughter".[90] Orders for the implementation of standards and health checks for prospective students were ignored for decades. An "avalanche of reports on the condition of children as hungry, malnourished, ill-clothed, dying of tuberculosis and overworked, failed to move either the churches or successive governments past the point of intention and on to concerted and effective remedial action."[91]

Fournier and Crey report that after the turn of the century,

"Schools began to report death rates of 11 per cent, as in the case of the Alberni principal, to 17 percent at Saskatchewan's Crowstand school, to an average of 24 per cent in fifteen prairie schools, a figure which rose to 42% if one included those who died at home within three years of leaving the school.[92] Of students at the Sarcee school outside Calgary between 1894 and 1908, 28 per cent died, mostly of tuberculosis. At the File Hills industrial school in Saskatchewan, 69 per cent of students died of tuberculosis during one decade at the turn of the century. . . At Kuper Island... the Indian Affairs department's own files estimate that up to 40 per cent of the students died before they could return home."[93] 47% of students died at

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[87] Grant, pp. 270-271

[88] Titley, p.90

[89] RCAP, p.357

[90] RCAP, pp. 357-358

[91] RCAP, p.365

[92] Fournier & Crey, p.49

[93] Fournier & Crey, p.58

Old Sun school on the Blackfoot reserve.[94]

At L'ecole St. Henri at Thunderchild, Sask., in 1908, 10% of students died; in 1928, 15% died; in 1931, 7% of students died.[95] Death rates were up to five times higher than for non-native students attending provincial schools. Deaths were not discussed; most often the child simply disappeared, and other children were forbidden to ask questions. It could be months before parents were notified, often only finding out when child did not return home at the expected time. The (illegal) pass system, whereby adults could not leave reserves without permission, assisted in keeping parents ignorant of affairs in the schools.[96]

> *I have polio and it affected my bladder as a child, I wet my pants a lot. I received extra beatings for that too. Once I was thrown across the dorm floor by Sister Gilberta, At the age of six, it seemed far away. I bounced off the wall at the other end of the dorn. I was sore on one side of my body for a few days.*
> *Imelda Brooks, in Knockwood*

Cruelty, inadequate medical services delivered by incompetent staff, unmarked graves and altered statistics, all point to the fact that services were not being delivered responsibly.[97] Grant concluded, "Had there been an element of choice in sending children to these schools, the term "genocide" might not be justified. But there was no provision for alternate education, and compulsory attendance legislation gave Indian agents and the RCMP all the powers they needed to forcibly remove children from their homes and take them to the schools where they were guarded as closely as any prisoner in a pentitentiary."[98]

b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

The list of abuses identified by Dr. Roland Chrisjohn,[99] while admittedly abbreviated (and not included in its entirety here), is fairly comprehensive.

Physical Abuses

- Sexual assault, including forced sexual intercourse between men or women in authority and girls and/or boys in their charge;
- Forced oral-genital or masturbatory contact between men or women in

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[94] RCAP, p.357

[95] David Roberts, "Death Casts Shadow at Boarding School for Indian Children" (Globe &Mail 15 Nov. 1990, A6)

[96] Grant, p. 133

[97] Grant, p.138

[98] Grant, p.271

[99] Chrisjohn (1997) pp.31-33

authority and girls and/or boys in their charge;

- Sexual touching by men or women in authority of girls and/or boys in their charge;
- Performing private pseudo-official inspections of genitals of girls and boys;
- Arranging or inducing abortions in female children impregnated by men in authority;
- Sticking needles through the tongues of children, often leaving them in place for extended periods of time;
- Inserting needles into other regions of children's anatomy;
- Burning or scalding children;
- Beating children into unconsciousness;
- Beating children to the point of drawing blood;
- Beating children to the point of inflicting serious permanent or semi-permanent injuries, including broken arms, broken legs, broken ribs, fractured skulls, shattered eardrums;
- Using electric shock devices on physically restrained children;
- Forcing sick children to eat their own vomit;
- Unprotected exposure (as punishment) to the natural elements (snow, rain, and darkness), occasionally prolonged to the point of inducing life-threatening conditions (e.g., frostbite, pneumonia);
- Withholding medical attention from individuals suffering the effects of physical abuse;
- Shaving children's heads (as punishment);

> *I was only a nine-year old kid. I don't know whether he was a priest or a brother. He had on a black gown... He told me that he works for God, that God is his friend, and if I did things for him then God would take me to heaven. ...he opened a drawer and put his leg up there. He had nothing on underneath -- I could see his face -- his hairy legs... I wouldn't -- so he strapped me and told me that I was going to Hell.*
>
> *Knockwood, p.94*

Psychological/Emotional Abuses

- Administration of beating to naked or partially naked children before their fellow students and/or institutional officials;
- Public, individually directed verbal abuse, belittling, and threatening;
- Public, race-based vilification of all aspects of Aboriginal forms of life;
- Racism;
- Performing public strip searches and genital inspections of children;
- Removal of children from their homes, families, and people;
- Cutting children's hair or shaving heads (as policy);
- Withholding presents, letters, and other personal property of children;

- Locking children in closets (as punishment);
- Segregation of the sexes;
- Proscription of the use of Aboriginal languages;
- Proscription of the following of Aboriginal religious or spiritual practices;
- Eliminating any avenue by which to bring grievances, inform parents, or notify external authorities of abuses
- Forced labour

To this list we must also add,

- Proscription of contact between siblings;
- Forcing children to participate in the beating of their peers;
- Forcing children to clean up the aftermath (blood and vomit) of beatings they had witnessed;
- Forced sexual acts between children, while authority figures watched;
- Forbidding children to ask questions or talk about children who had "disappeared";
- Forcing bedwetters to parade in public wearing soiled bedsheets over their heads (extremely common);
- Denying young women sanitary pads at night, then beating and/or publicly humiliating those who bled on their sheets;
- Deliberate destruction of children's personal property.

The implements with which children were beaten also bears mention; the following were in common use at various schools and times:

- leather and rubber straps (used on children as young as four years old);
- straps with tacks, nails, or wires embedded in them;
- boxing gloves;
- wooden boards;
- studded belts;
- bunch of five belts
- sticks and pointers;
- whips
- switches
- knotted rawhide, knotted horse harness straps
- cat-o'-nine tails. [100]

> *I got tired of getting hit over the head so I thought I better stop talking Indian and learn English.*
> *Knockwood, p.97*

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[100] from testimony in sources cited here and in bibligraphy

RCAP recorded that "children were frequently beaten severely with whips, rods and fists, chained and shackled, bound hand and foot and locked in closets, basements, and bathrooms, and had their heads shaved or hair closely cropped."[101] The Commission documented numerous cases of severe abuse in which no action was ever taken against the perpetrators inspite of protests by inspectors or Indian agents; they found that hundreds of children ran away from the conditions of neglect, mistreatment and abuse.[102] Grant found the most severe punishments were for running away, the most frequent were for use of a Native language; those that tended to get totally out of hand were most frequently associated with language.[103] While most "punishments" described were for infraction of rules, many seemed capricious, and some were intended to be educational.

> *I remember those horrifying years as if it were yesterday. There was one nun, Sister Gilberta, she always passed out the punishment. Every day, she would take me into the bathroom and lock the door. She would them proceed to beat me thirty times on each hand. . . .She would count to thirty out loud, each time she hit me. It is an awful way to learn to count to thirty. . .*[104]

One man recounts the story of a priest who strapped T-H-O-U S-H-A-L-L N-O-T S-P-E-A-K C-R-E-E, one stroke for each letter until he reached twenty-one.[105]

Chrisjohn also itemizes further violations:

Enforcing Unsuitable Living Conditions

- Starvation (as punishment);
- Inadequate nutrition (e.g., nutrition levels below that needed for normal growth and subsistence);
- Providing food unfit for human consumption;
- Exploiting child labour;
- Forced labour under unsafe working conditions; *(our note: sometimes leading to permanent injury or death)*
- Inadequate medical services, sometimes leading to children's deaths; [106]

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[101] RCAP, p.369
[102] RCAP p.368-373
[103] Grant, p.193
[104] Knockwood, p.81
[105] Grant, p.194
[106] Chrisjohn, p.33

Dr. Chrisjohn discusses the argument that the U.N. Convention makes no provision for cultural genocide, except in the case of forced transfer of children, and is generally limited to physical and biological genocide.[107] He asks, "How is forcible assimilation supposed to happen without causing serious bodily or mental harm?"[108] The material we reviewed and listened to documents clearly that the assimilation program of residential schooling, and the methods described above used to enforce it, caused immeasurable bodily and mental harm to First Nations people as a group.

c) Deliberately inflicting upon the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.

See our earlier section on "Assimilation" for theory, and the immediately preceding, for practice. Consider,

"... spirituality is the basis of our culture; if it is stolen, our culture will be dissolved. If our culture is dissolved, Indian people *as such* will cease to exist. By definition, the causing of any culture to cease to exist is an act of genocide."[109]

"If people suddenly lose their "prime symbol", the basis of their culture, their lives lose meaning. They become disoriented, with no hope. A social disorganization often follows such a loss, they are often unable to insure their own survival. . . . The loss and human suffering of those whose culture has been healthy and is suddenly attacked and disintegrated are incalculable."[110]

d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group.

This aspect of genocide does not apply directly to Residential Schools, though the involuntary sterilization of Indian and Inuit women continued in southern hospitals until it was exposed in the late 1970s.[111]

e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Residential school policy was to remove children, at times for as long a period as possible, from the influence of their parents. In the development of Indian education policy, it was felt that Indian adults were an “impediment” to civilization; “through them to their children and on through successive generations ran the ‘influence of the wigwam’.”[112] It was widely and explicitly deemed necessary to break the bond between parents and children.[113]

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[107] Chrisjohn, p.43

[108] Chrisjohn, p.44

[109] Russell Means (Lakota Sioux Nation), in Ward Churchill, "Colonialism, Genocide and the Expropriation of Indigenous Spiritual Tradition in Contemporary Academia" in *Border/Lines*, eds. Randy Kapashesit and Winona LaDuke (Toronto: York University) winter 1991/92, p.41

[110] Churchill, quoting researchers Mark Davis and Robert Zannis, p.41

[111] Grant, p.273

Compulsory attendance legislation cited earlier was introduced to deal with the increased resistance of Aboriginal parents to send their children to these schools; other efforts to force parents to send their children included threats to cancel rations and other ‘privileges’, and by the suspension of family allowance payments. Per capita funding of schools, which put a premium on each student taken from a community, led to bizarre recruitment techniques, including “bribing and kidnapping”.[114]

> *The Indian agent - we called him the overseer - lived on the reserve. He went around and told parents which children had to go to school. And the priests arrived with their little black cars... This older woman still stands out in my mind. She was crying because her daughter Marie was getting into the car. She tried to pull her back out of the car and the RCMP took a hold of her and flung her away from the car and she landed in the ditch and she just lay there crying...*
>
> *AFN, p.i*

Parents did not know that when they signed the application for admission to the schools, they were appointing the school's principal as their children's legal guardian, even during the summer vacations. When children were not returned to the school, the Department of Indian Affairs would send out letters to Indian Agents reminding them of this fact, stressing that the principal was, in fact, the children's personal guardian.[115]

Children were lured onto boats and planes without parental knowledge, sometimes never to be seen again. Uniformed RCMP pulled children from their mother's arms; many survivors describe the cattle trucks and railroad cars into which they were herded each fall. Nighttime knocks on the door and invasions in search of runaway children are reminiscent of war. Some families migrated to the States to protect their children, others managed to hide them in various ways.[116]

> *When the Mi'kmaw became aware that cultural suicide was inevitable at the school, some refused to send their children.*
>
> *Elsie Charles Basque*

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[112] RCAP pp.334

[113] RCAP cites a variety of sources, including departmental correspondence, and the Davin report.

[114] RCAP p.357

[115] Knockwood, p.112

[116] contact conversations; also Chief Bev Sellars, “Opening Address to the First National Conference on Residential Schools”, June 18, 1991, reprinted in Furniss; p. 127. Also Haig-Brown, p.87

The ruthless banning of Mi'kmaw in the school drove a wedge between family members. (One woman) remembers that when she arrived at the school two years after her older sister, they were completely unable to communicate with each other since Freda spoke only Mi'kmaw and her sister spoke only English. The punishment for speaking Mi'kmaw began on our first day at school, but the punishment has continued all our lives as we try to piece together who we are and what the world means to us with a language many of us have had to re-learn as adults.

Knockwood

Grant contends, and much survivor testimony supports her, that the greatest harm "consisted of the mental and psychological abuse which destroyed the bond between children and their parents, culture and language. The children suffered the loneliness of being separated from their parents, and the parents were devastated at the loss of their children. Many knew they were sending their children to a place where they would be abused in every way; parents, however, were unable to intervene."[117]

Her pointed questions reflect back to the "mental harm" inflicted on Nations: "How could Indian parents cope with the pain? What happened to the parents and grandparents in the settlements when the communities were bereft of children? What happens to a child's personality when language and emotions are ruthlessly suppressed? . . . how do they eventually function as adults? How can children cope when adults around them teach that their significant others are not good, and how long does it take to brainwash a little child?"[118] The answers are evidenced in the social and economic position and condition of First Nations in Canada today.

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[117] Grant p.272

[118] Grant, p.28

As soon as I got out of the school, I was sixteen. I went to the city and got drunk. I stayed drunk for twenty-five years. I got pregnant and gave birth to a deformed baby girl. I gave her up and I've never seen her since. I met another man shortly after this and we got married. We had six more kids. I don't really feel close to my kids. I've been sober for two years now and I'm trying very hard to share my experiences with them. I want them to know that I love them and if I could do it all over again, I would've brought them up better. I'm still trying to get out of an abusive situation and I'm working really hard on my sobriety, but I sometimes wonder why because things were much easier when I was drunk.

8. The Impact of Residential School Abuse

The ways in which the damage of residential school shows up in the lives of aboriginal people and their cultures, have been discussed and analyzed in several forums and reported in a number of sources. We present their findings here.

1. The Assembly of First Nations found that, "The most glaring outcome of residential school is a long list of losses which include the following:

loss of memory
loss of innocence
loss of meaning
loss of family
loss of connection
loss of language
loss of childhood
loss of feeling
loss of pride
loss of community
loss of identity
loss of trust
loss of confidence
loss of spirit
loss of skills
loss of morality
loss of life
loss of control

Taken together over multiple generations, these losses constitute a massive amount of grief which up until recently, has been denied in various ways and for various reasons."[119]

> *Residential school robbed me as a child. It robbed me of everything. I had nobody to turn to, not my parents, not my sisters, no one. And witnessing abuse... and being abused myself... after that I was always full of hate and fear.*
>
> *AFN, p.ii*

> *I did not have the ability to think for myself and make decisions, I did as I was told, never questioning... I was confused a lot of the time and it didn't allow me to question or think for myself*
>
> *AFN, p.100*

2. Participant's in the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council's research identified impacts of residential schooling in the following key areas:

- Loss of native culture
- Loss of self respect; children were taught to feel culturally inferior to whites, and less than human;

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[119] AFN (1994), pp. 167-168

- What Was Learned in Residential School; submitting to authority of whites; maintaining power and control in social relations, and a military style of discipline;
- Going Back Home; students went home unable to cope with freedom, with inappropriate behavior patterns and disrespectful of family and village custom. They were unaware of their social position in the community and lacked parenting skills
- Alcohol and Other Drugs[120]

3. Rosalyn Ing's thesis[121] cites several works that document the intergenerational impacts of residential schooling and its effect on parenting skills, including one of the first pieces of empirical research on this topic. That study concluded that boarding schools (Indian Residential Schools),

> "lowered the women's self-esteem. . . detrimentally affected the way they see themselves and women and as mothers, and negatively influenced their family interaction. Further, the damaging effects. . . on the mothers are in turn affecting the next generation of Navajo children."[122]

Ing was concerned with the effects of separation from home and parents; how the experience with language at residential school affected ability to parent; and how respondents' children were affected by the way the respondents themselves were cared for as children. Her contention that native child-rearing patterns have been indelibly marked by residential schools, in ways that will last for generations, is supported by several authors.

"The elders have survived some major psychological losses, losses which are generally understood to be traumatic with long lasting effects; early separation from parents and home, separation from parents during the developmental years of childhood, a boarding school experience, separation of the sexes, ineffective parenting styles in the residential schools -- rigidity, lack of emotional understanding and respect, and high authoritarianism.

> *I was never able to sit down with my children and say, "This is how to do things" like my parents did to me. I was not able to do this because of all those residential school experiences that were so bad that they confuse me so much.*
>
> *Ing, p.112*

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[120] Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, (1996) pp.6-7

[121] Ing, p. 65-118

[122] Ann Metcalf, "From Schoolgirl to Mother: The Effects of Education on Navajo Women", Social Problems, 23(5): p 544, at Ing p.44

These traumatic experiences will influence their world view, their understanding of the Euro-Canadian culture, their interaction with others, their personal relationships, and their parenting style. These traumatic experiences will also be transmitted to the next generation in some form." [123]

Ing reiterates Haig-Brown's observation, that

"former students who are now parents recognize the deficiencies in their experience with family units. . . children learn parenting skills by the way they are parented. Those who spent eight, ten, or more years at Kamloops Indian Residential School had limited experience as family members. In the same way that their language use is based on the knowledge they gained before going to school, so their parenting skills must draw on that limited experience." [124]

My husband didn't go to the residential school, and I really notice the difference between us in how he cared for our son in infancy. There was that precious closeness, he was raised the same way. I don't recall my mother ever once telling me she loved me...

Ing, p.134

A thesis on Squamish Socialization found that those Squamish who are now parents,

"belong to the generation which was removed from the influence of the families and raised in residential school. This process attacked Indian culture; it did not reinforce it. . . Because the children were in residence, the attacks could not be withstood by their parents who saw them infrequently, if at all. . . They were not able to maintain the "essential patterns" in the residential school and so they suffered cultural loss. . . and the loss of contact with adjacent generations."[125]

Ing found two other sources that addressed the effects of residential schooling in subsequent generations, through the loss of child-rearing patterns traceable to a lack of parenting and nurturing in institutions.[126]

Ing's findings in her own interviews were that all respondents identified feeling,

- lonely, unloved/uncared for as children
- that their culture was removed, and they were forced to think differently; they lost parental training

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[123] Janet More, "Cultural Foundations of Personal Meaning: Their Loss and Recovery", University of British Columbia, (unpublished Master's thesis) 1985, at Ing p.45

[124] Haig-Brown, at Ing p.45

[125] Joan Ryan, "Squamish Socialization". University of British Columbia (unpublished doctoral thesis), 1973

[126] Four Worlds Development Project, How History Has Affected Native Life Today, 1984; and Jim Atkinson, "The Mission School Syndrome", Yukon: Northern Native Broadcasting, (video) 1988

- that they tried to live in two cultures
- that they had no good self concept[127]

The specific processes participants identified as having an intergenerational impact were,

- Self esteem affected
- No interpersonal skills or interpersonal relationships taught
- No Native moral teachings reinforced
- Negative self-concept affects child-rearing
- Effects of children left alone or unsupervised

> *Being Indian was not positive for me because of my residential school experiences. One supervisor in particular would ridicule us, call us all kinds of things. We were dirty, lazy, smelled, alcoholics. She made me ashamed of our people.*
>
> *Ing. p.131*

Two processes had a positive impact for these respondents,

- work ethic (school and home influence) - enabled them to become productive adults, and
- elders role was maintained at home, and had a positive influence.[128]

4. While Isabelle Knockwood's work tends to leave the reader to imagine and interpret likely impacts of the Shubenacadie stories, the final few pages do address their effects on the former students; the foremost of these is a lasting bewilderment at what could have motivated the priests and nuns who ran the school to treat children as they did. A range of subsequent social problems are identified; welfare dependency, gambling, drug and alcohol abuse; illiteracy and inadequate education.[129] Several people identify the fear of touching or being physically close to others, as one of the school's most devastating effects; some also recall this inability in their parents who also attended.

Knockwood describes the personal frustration of being unable to confront and hold accountable those who inflicted such enormous damage (because they have died), and feels it made no difference that government officials and some representatives of the Catholic church apologized to Native people. Out of the Depths does recount how several people "have been able to transform their lives and bring themselves 'out of the depths',"[130] many through rediscovering and returning to Native traditions and spirituality, or claiming as adults the education they were denied as children.

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[127] Ing, p. 59

[128] Ing, pp. 71-72

[129] Knockwood, 1992, p.156

[130] Knockwood, p.158

5. Elizabeth Furniss argues that not only does the residential school experience explain many of the difficulties faced by Native people in their personal lives, but it also epitomizes the deep-seated historical problems that have permeated Indian-white relations in Canada for centuries.[131] She cites Ing, Bull, and Sellars regarding the impacts of separation from families, harsh physical punishment, being denied the right to speak their languages, being indoctrinated with messages of personal and cultural inferiority, the psychological and social consequences of the assimilation program, and the recent emergence of Residential School issues. The consequences of residential schools are noted as high rates of alcoholism, suicide, and sexual abuse, the loss of language and culture, low self-esteem and pride, the breakdown of families, the loss of parenting skills, dependency on others, and loss of initiative.

> *Thousands did self-destruct. If they didn't commit suicide, they became addicted to anything that would numb or distract the pain -- and the addictions only became another thing to be ashamed of.*
>
> *Sellars, 1991*

6. The report from the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation Residential School Meetings contains extensive lists of the losses caused by the residential schools, and the damage inflicted on First Nations patterns of thinking, seeing, hearing, feeling and talking. It underscores the assertion of all residential school research, that these effects have been felt within the children, youth, adults and Elders of every First Nation who had children taken to the residential schools. The losses identified by participants included,

- loss of culture which is loss of language, religion and justice
- loss of connection to the landloss of freedomloss of spirituality
- loss of childhood innocence
- loss of cultural teachings and family history
- loss of innocence and identity
- loss of self-esteem and self-confidence; conditioned people to be confused about their heritage and identity
- loss of parenting skills and extended family experience
- loss of nurturance
- loss of family unit and community relationships; feeling of isolation (loss of belonging)

> *We sneaked home a lot... We did this just to eat. We were constantly hungry at school because we were not fed well at all. This is where I started to lose all that good training I had been taught earlier; to respect all humans, to be kind to people, not to swear, steal, or lie. Regretfully, ... it was not possible for me to practice these teachings at the residential school.*
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> *Ing, p.100*

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[131] Furniss, p.31

- loss of love and security
- violation of dignity (hair chopped off, D.D.T. used for washing body)
- demoralized
- loss of positive childhood memories
- taught not to speak your mind; trained not to question leading to non-feeling or non-responding individual
- loss of respect for everything (land, Elders, culture)
- programmed with no decision making opportunities
- loss of sibling relations
- deprivation of food, medicine and medical treatment[132]

> *I didn't know where I fit any more. I didn't fit back home and I didn't fit with "white" people. I felt lost.*
>
> *AFN, p.85*

The impacts of these losses include, and are identified as having lead to,

- suicide
- a dependency on non-Native society
- alienation from family and community
- learning that violence and other victimized situations are acceptable
- learning to accept high tolerance of abuses
- God fearing, if bad would go to hell
- being deprived of being me and who I am; individuality
- becoming racist
- being angry and misdirecting this anger to the ones we love
- difficulty in making decisions and saying "no"
- fear of losing own children
- passive or aggressive personalities
- learning to punish others by belittling them;
- anger at parents
- insecurity and lack of trust
- feelings of guilt due to living in a shaming environment
- ashamed of being Native; made to feel unclean
- recurring nightmares
- unhappiness

> *I have to do something about this anger that I feel inside. It is really tearing my insides and when I was married, my wife used to get the brunt of it.*
>
> *AFN, p.102*

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[132] Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, "Report on Residential School Meetings", May 1995, p.3

- blackouts and memory blocks
- addiction to alcohol, drugs, food and gambling
- fear of intimacy
- development of harsh discipline methods
- development of mental and physical illnesses
- disruption of healing/teaching process between healer and child/family/community
- creation of self-conflicts leading to a feeling of non-entity
- inability to relate when returned home
- change in our own value systems; alteration of beliefs and values; forced to believe in Christian religions
- inability to communicate
- incest and development of other sexual problems
- apathy
- problems with authority figures
- not knowing how to nurture self and always putting self last
- lack of positive parental role models as majority of residential school staff were single
- loss of First Nation members as they choose not to acknowledge their identity or community or heritage
- anger towards churches, dominant society and self
- feelings of hatred
- feelings of hopelessness, despair and loneliness
- encouragement by residential school staff of class systems led to development of gangs
- daily stress as each day we try and continue to heal
- passing on of all negative traits to our children

> *The basic question is, if we're illiterate, why are we illiterate? We have an education system... that's teaching our children ...to be ashamed of who they are and to try to spend the rest of their lives...trying to be white. So of course we reject it, we're not failures, we're not dummies, but we reject that... That's what's wrong with the education system, and uless you can deal with that, you won't be able to deal with our illiteracy problem.*
>
> *Métis National Council, p.23*

While participants were able to list 8 benefits of attending residential schools, "it is quite apparent that the negative effects outweigh the positive." The anger and pain have led to many suicides and untimely deaths, and they note that most youth suicides are those whose parents attended residential schools. The listing of impacts and effects concludes, "This invasion and assault on family, home, community and country was an attempt at cultural and human genocide."[133]

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[133] Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, p.7

7. Working extensively from interviews with former students as well as historical documents, Agnes Grant found that residential schools were successful "to a significant degree", in their purpose of alienating children from their parents and tribal customs. "Where children were not openly alienated and ashamed of their heritage, they experienced great difficulty in readjusting to life among their own people."[134]

> *Our grandparents and parents were intimately affected by our trauma and suffering ... and were unprepared to deal with the effects...*
> *Survivors Tasiuqtit, 1998*

Grant draws clear links between historical policies and the state of First Nations today, including that, "the Indian Act also ensured that a hierarchical system governed the reserves... students were groomed to accept this system...", that 'might is right' --- "(these) teachings made an indelible impact on reserve politics that is still evident today."[135] In discussing contemporary leadership, she notes that most First Nations political and educational leadership today comes from those who attended residential school, and that this should not be interpreted as an endorsement of those repressive regimes. Political leadership is limited to a small number of people, and almost entirely excludes women; this is consistent with conventional patriarchal practices, another method of breaking up family and devaluing culture.[136] Grant cites Doris Young, who also blames the residential schools for the near destruction of First Nations government and the role of women, pointing out that women's words have been ignored and not respected in the decision making process, and that they are not respected as they once were.[137]

Grant points out that the schools came dangerously close to achieving their objective of obliterating Native languages. A detailed section on language underscores the findings of Ing and others with regard to the intense psychological damage of silencing children, though Grant also notes that those who came to school with their language had a fairly good chance of retaining it, especially those who had summer visits home. Testimony of several students supports the findings of the widespread individual and cultural devastation inflicted by the schools, echoing the comment by a former student of St.Joseph's Vocational School, who had kept his rage bottled up inside him for 45 years; "Who knows what I would have been like if I hadn't gone there?"[138]

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[134] Grant, p.84

[135] Grant, p.106

[136] Grant, p.182

[137] Doris Young, "Walking in our Mothers Footsteps: Aboriginal Women and Traditional Self-Government" in *Herizons 6.1*, Spring 1992, p. 25

[138] quoted in *Winnipeg Free Press*, "Nun's students learned hatred", (2 Nov. 1990)

8. James Miller and Edmund Danziger found that the residential school experience of Walpole Island First Nation after World War I was highly individualized and ranged from positive (33%) to negative (25% of respondents)[139]. They concluded that residential school encounters were important, but did not redirect the overall course of community development. Several women who rated their school experience as "mostly positive", still noted the lack of nurturing and emotional support; some of these said that because of their school residency, they found it difficult to show affection towards their own children.[140]

9. Fournier and Crey's work is a detailed exploration specifically *of* the outcomes of Canada's previous and current policies towards Aboriginal peoples, including residential schools and child welfare practices. The consequences they explore, such as alcoholism, sexual and physical abuse, suicide, Fetal Alcohol Syndrome, and poverty are well known to Aboriginal people throughout Canada.[141]

10. Dr. J.R. Miller's meticulous historical approach examines the agendas of church and government in establishing and running the schools; he also addresses the experiences of, and impacts on the students themselves through first-hand interviews and documents. Like Furniss, Crey and others, Miller views the residential schools as a significant component in the destruction of native identity and culture. He illustrates the complexity of interwoven issues, that neither, for example, treaty-making nor residential schools can be pointed to as solely causative in this process. His historical analysis includes accounts of nations who themselves identified and demanded treaty on their terms, as well as those who built and funded their own residential schools, bringing in missions of their choice for particular reasons.[142] He goes on to show how autonomy and control in these initiatives was increasingly eroded and subverted to the will of government. Miller points out that before 1950, less than one third of Inuit and status children, and a much smaller proportion of non-status and Métis,

> *I had a grandmother who spoke and nurtured and knew our culture... Even though I say I can live with this sexual abuse and physical abuse, you know, it's never going to leave me. But the loss of my culture is something that I'm going to have to face the rest of my life and wonder what I would have been like if I had been fluent in my language...*
>
> *NTC p.97*

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[139] Miller and Danziger, p.11

[140] Miller & Danziger, p.12

[141] Fournier and Crey, Stolen From Our Embrace: The Abduction of First Nations Children and Restoration of Aboriginal Communities. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd., 1997

[142] J. R. Miller, pp.93-97

actually attended residential schools.[143]

The dramatic, largely negative, impact of residential schools on First Nations families and communities is examined, as well as the accompanying history of government inaction and denial. Miller illustrates how the "malignant legacy" of residential schools continues into the present day, including examples of how, at Oka and Davis Inlet for two, the "we-know-best-what's-good-for-you attitude is still alive and kicking".[144]

11. With a broad anthropological focus, Lindy-Lou Flynn also documents the cultural damage inflicted by colonialism, particularly the 100 years of "legalized kidnap" in the residential schools, and the resulting dysfunction and disorientation of First Nations individuals and communities. Flynn's work emphasizes the silencing of native people, that "...into the 1970s, Native people were kept isolated and silent on reserves and in residential schools, skid rows and other places of "suspended animation".[145] While many knew the social disintegration they were witnessing was a result of the violence learned and passed on in boarding schools, fear, shame, embarrassment, anger, and confusion prevented people from speaking out.

> *They washed away practically everything from our minds, all the things an Indian needed to help himself, to think the way a human person should in order to survive...*
>
> *AFN, p.101*

Flynn describes the code of silence that permeated reserves and native communities (and in some places still does), and asks, "How do you speak out against your own people when you understand how they got that way? And how can you begin a healing process when you know that...whitepeople, once you have exposed your problems, will use what you have revealed to control you even more?"[146]

In examining the many ways in which the silence has been broken, Flynn explains that residential school stories are being told in part so that, "whitepeople will understand that (Native people) were not somehow biologically or culturally pre-disposed to alcoholism or family violence, but that these are aberrations"[147], the result of the imposition of cruel policies over all aspects of life over generations.

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[143] J. R. Miller, pp.411

[144] J.R.Miller, p.436

[145] Lindy-Lou Flynn, To Break the Conspiracy of Silence: The Healing and Empowerment of Native Peoples Across Canada, University of Western Ontario, 1993, p.96

[146] Flynn, p.98

[147] Flynn, p.106

An unanticipated impact of the residential schools to which Flynn draws attention, is that the forced sharing of language, and the friendships and alliances forged in residential schools, created a network of loyalties and political activists throughout Indian country. The mutually shared stories became the basis of a new discourse, and a common issue on the contemporary political agenda.[148]

12. The most significant empirical study of residential school impacts is found in "Faith Misplaced", a joint effort of the Cariboo Tribal Council and the University of Guelph. This study found that the long term effects of residential schooling were a negative impact on relationships with people and a (surprisingly) positive impact on feelings about native identity. Respondents whose fathers had attended residential school were more likely to report that their mother had been beaten by their father. Other effects on fathers included more personal problems, more severe forms of punishment, less attention to children and less affectionate attention to children.[149]

Using the Briere and Runtz (1989) Trauma Symptom Checklist, this study mirrored others in the differences found between abused and non-abused respondents, including sleep problems, depression, depressive behaviors, anger, and sexual problems. Among other differences, abused respondents were generally less loving, used more physical and verbal punishments, and felt less close to their parents. The researchers concluded, "we do not believe that there can be any serious doubt of the fact that the various experiences examined here have significant long-term effects. It is no longer possible to stall for time."[150]

> *It will be a long time before students of residential schools are past child-bearing age... Now children are being raised by parents who have residential school as a long-term experience. It will be another two generations before the residential school experience begins to fade.*
> *RCAP*

13. Dr. Roland Chrisjohn's later work on residential schools acknowledges the effects of the horrific abuses he catalogues, but focuses on the huge leap of illogic typically made in the study of residential school abuse, its impacts, and most significantly in issues surrounding their redress. He is highly critical of a methodology that views oppression as the individual emotional experience of being mistreated, rather than the institutionalized mistreatment of marginalized populations, and finds in this view a continuation of the same ideological basis of the oppression.

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[148] Flynn,pp.105-6
[149] Chrisjohn (1991), p.172
[150] Chrisjohn (1991), p.186

The Circle Game posits that the deliberately misleading view of residential schools as a well-intentioned mistake, has created, equally deliberately, a response which "focuses all our attention on putative personal, individual, and internal explanations and away from conspicuous moral, legal, political, and economic explanations."[151]

A variety of processes have been used to create a discussion in which good intentions are weighed against bad results, measured in terms of "nature and extent" of individual pathologies. This focus on individualism, on specific personal, community and social impacts, ignores the immorality and illegality of governmental, bureaucratic, church and societal principle and practice, and transforms it into the personal and psychiatric problems of grown-up indigenous people. Chrisjohn argues that in searching to identify particular impacts and their redress, we continue to miss the most important point, which is that,

> *The immorality of believing it proper to impose upon sovereign peoples another religion, language, and form of life, while destroying their existing ones, is placed into the background. The genocidal illegality of legislating children away from the care of their parents and families and placing them in the charge of organizations dedicated to destroying who they are is put aside. The political expediency of interpreting an obligation to educate as a license to indoctrinate doesn't come up. The economic imperative of reducing production costs by expropriating the property of imprisoned and defenseless Aboriginal Nations never arises. And the social relation of unbridled racism, which provided an unspoken justification for the most extreme of measures, is conveniently avoided.*[152]

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[151] Chrisjohn (1997), p.255

[152] Chrisjohn (1997), p.256

I didn't really know how to be a good mother. My mother went to residential school and I get mad sometimes when I think that she sent me there even though she knew that it was a bad place. For a long time I stayed mad at her until I became sober. My mother still drinks and I know it's because she has too many bad memories and can't face them. I now have my own grandchildren, and I tell my own kids that I want them to bring up their kids in a good way. I know that my kids were affected by my drinking, my son is always in trouble with the law. I won't let my grandchildren be affected by alcohol or physical abuse. This will stop in my family.

9 Findings

There are survivors of abuse who demonstrate, "We have proven that people can heal from this experience";[153] there are others speaking and writing, loud and clear, about the needs and expectations they've identified. These people still appear, however, to be a minortiy of those who lived through the residential schools.

9.1 Empirical Findings

Table 1 and Figure 1 show the numbers and proportion of individuals identifying particular needs or redress expectations in their statements about residential school experiences. These are shown for each of four sources examined in detail, as well as a total for all sources. Table 2 lists the the particular needs and redress actions identified by survivors, in the various sources. Needs expressed by survivors do appear to be changing over time, and also according to the forum in which they are expressed. The findings presented here, based on analysis of four sets of survivor statements, seem consistent with other literature and studies reviewed.

1. Elizabeth Graham,*The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools*

Graham's research is significant because it was one of the first projects that recorded statements from a fairly large group of former residential school students. The memoirs of 55 people were recorded in informal interviews based on broad and open ended questions; the interviews took place between 1988 and 1993. In correspondence, Ms. Graham noted that research for this book was done "before people were thinking about compensation or even healing." The suggestion of negative impacts or the need for redress was not introduced by the researcher, but some needs and recommendations do emerge.

Almost half the participants described a generally positive experience at residential school, in spite of recollections of hunger, poor food, not being allowed to speak their language, and witnessing or receiving strappings. Often the experience was relative to conditions of extreme poverty at home.

Many people expressed anger or regret in two areas: 12 that they did not get a better education, or an education that allowed them to go on to high school; 14 that they lost, or missed out on learning their language or cultural skills. Experiences and feelings are described, but not necessarily connected to a subsequent "need" later in life.

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[153] Rosanna Fergusson, quoting Dan Highway, in ***Weetamah***, Feb. 1998

Of the 55, 11 people volunteered an analysis of the negative consequences of the treatment at residential school as it emerged later in life, either for themself or others. Of those perceiving related consequences, 1 woman had described her own experience as positive, 3 people described a neutral or 'good & bad' experience, and 7 had felt their treatment was abusive. The impacts perceived were:

- fear and loss of trust (1)
- problems with parenting (2)
- alcoholism (4)
- violence related to alcoholism (2)
- hurt and hate inside (1)
- personal problems (2)

Even fewer said they had "done something" or recognized that something "could be done" (perceived redress options) as a response to the impact of residential school experience. Of those who did,

- 2 people identified the need for Native-run schools
- 1 person made a deliberate effort to learn his language and culture in middle-age
- 1 had counselling; another was "dealing with" his emotional problems, but didn't say how
- 1 said a man "approached all the students for their complaints" and "took me to see a lawyer. I liked that." (No other details given.)

The bar chart (Fig. 1) shows the proportion of people whose testimony was purely descriptive; Figure 2 shows the distribution of the six needs that were identified.

2. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples,*For Seven Generations: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*[154]

The Royal Commission (RCAP) was the first documented forum where large numbers of people had the opportunity to volunteer information about their residential school experience. Testimony was not directed to particular issues, so presumably people were speaking about the issues they felt important. The Commission may have created an expectation that action should be taken to address and begin to remedy historic damage done to First Nations, so we might expect to find a larger proportion of people identifying the impacts of their experience, and beginning to articulate needs for redress.

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[154] Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, For Seven Generation: An Information Legacy of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, CD-ROM, Ottawa: Libraxus Inc., 1997

RCAP heard testimony from 1623 aboriginal speakers, 591 individuals and the representatives of 1032 organizations, between April 1992 and April 1994. Within the testimony, there are 913 references to residential schools. We examined 308 of these, representing 95 individuals speaking about residential schools. Most of the testimony (71% of speakers) is descriptive, of the terrible trauma experienced by children in residential schools, its lasting and devastating impact on peoples' lives.

Of these 95 people, 28 former students identified 36 needs, naming actions that could and/or should be taken to respond to their concerns. There were also 5 general statements about urgency or a need for action, unrelated to any specific redress. Appendix 3 shows the testimony we reviewed, listing the speaker, the theme or impact they spoke about, and any needs or redress options they identified.

The breakdown of need statements follows:

A) 7 comments related to public knowledge and understanding:

- Inform the larger society
- Need to discuss residential schools and understand why they happened
- Need for open dialogue, particularly those who attended and the churches who ran the schools
- Need a public record
- Need a public inquiry
- The Canadian public at large need to know about the disastrous effects
- Need to examine and complete records on the kidnapping of children, how far they were removed, cost of kidnapping and destroying them, lack of love & kindness, resulting drunkenness, violence and suicide.

B) 5 comments related to disclosure:

- Need to talk, for disclosure
- Need to talk
- Needs to come out and be expressed
- Hold healing circles for people to begin to talk
- Need to educate people to understand what happened when they went to residential school.

C) 7 comments about personal healing and recovery:

- Healing is a really big factor
- Has to be healing, for offenders as well
- Fly-in service, 15 minutes with a psychologist is inadequate
- Need to go through a long healing process
- Need mental health services
- Possibly a healing centre
- Counselling.

D) 6 comments related to individual compensation:

- Compensation (wanted)
- Heard of compensation
- Compensation for problems and devastating experience
- Should be some type of assistance provided
- Churches have to compensate individual people for some of the things they've done.
- Compensation needed.

E) 5 comments about community and cultural compensation/development:

- More funds to regain and retain culture
- Compensation: $2 million a year for Nuu-chah-nulth; funds and resources for teaching, schools, language
- Lack of resources to cope with the effects, esp. as villages become alcohol and drug free
- Need resources, land, buildings, where people can go to address the problems that came as a result
- Government should be putting in a lot of money since they're responsible.

F) 3 comments specific to parenting skills:

- Parenting skills (lost)
- Need parenting skills
- Parenting skills; trying to teach children Indian values, languages, create pride in the children

G) 3 comments on apology:

- Need an apology
- Apology is not enough
- Nobody ever apologized.

H) One comment on RCMP accountability:

- RCMP also have to be accountable since they were involved in enforcing those laws, apprehending, abducting

I) 5 comments speaking to urgency or solutions, with no specifics identified:

- Needs to be dealt with and soon
- Need to do something immediately
- Need to get on with the task, deal with immediately
- Need people in the communities to start dealing with it
- Different reserves, communities, may need different solutions.

Figure 3 shows these needs in chart form.

3. Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, *Indian Residential Schools: The Nuu-chah-nulth Experience*, and*"Beyond Survival"* (video)

An increased variety of needs are identified by former students in "Beyond Survival"[155] and Indian Residential Schools[156], likely indicating a heightened level of awareness and expectation. The healing conference video and Tribal Council study were both self-help efforts undertaken with the express purposes of "bringing about healing", and beginning to bring these issues into the public eye. We examined the testimony of 18 people who between them, identified 36 needs; while the NTC study involved 96 participants, we only included those whose first person accounts were reproduced in the book or video. We noted some crossover in the presentations to RCAP, where Nuu-chah-nulth speakers were among the people clearly articulating needs and expectations.

Figure 1 shows that the proportion of people offering narrative testimony with no analysis of subsequent needs arising is much lower (33%). Figure 4 shows that 28% of Nuu-chah-nulth speakers who identified needs spoke about personal counselling/healing resources and initiatives; several of these statements were related to healing circles conducted, which participants had found beneficial. Demands for individual compensation, and compensation/measures to address loss of culture and community rebuilding each made up 17% of the needs mentioned. Also emerging are statements about the need for legal action and criminal justice, intergenerational healing, and statements about the importance of Nuu-chah-nulth control of programs and processes. The need for a public inquiry is mentioned twice; needs for parenting skills, an apology, and urgent action were also raised.

4. Newspaper Clippings, (1996 1998)

The picture changes again when we look at newspaper clippings about residential schools.[157] 76 articles, letters, and editorials, mostly in First Nations newspapers, and northern papers with largely aboriginal circulation, revealed 109 identifiable need statements. Only 10 pieces were purely descriptive of residential school experience

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[155] Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, "Beyond Survival" (video), Port Alberni: Edward L.J. Lee Video Prod., 1996

[156] Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, Indian Residential Schools: The Nuu-chah-nulth Experience, NTC, 1996

[157] Back issues for two years (or max. available) were reviewed for: First Perspective, Windspeaker, Weetamah News, Raven's Eye, NewsNorth, Nunatsiaq News, Micmac Maliseet Nations News, as well as subject clipping files from Kivalliq News and Ha-Shilth-Sa. Clippings from Halifax Chronicle Herald, National News Journal, The Globe & Mail, Ottawa Citizen, and Edmonton Journal were also sent to us.

(Table 1); many were written for the purpose of making a "need statement". The variety of needs and expectations expressed is not much greater than the Nuu-chah-nulth experience, but there are some differences.

The demand for public recognition and awareness, usually in the form of an inquiry, is expressed in 23% of the material reviewed; the expectation of compensation for individuals occurs in 17% of statements. The need for healing and counselling services to repair damage is slightly lower than in the Nuu-chah-nulth statements (20%), possibly explained by the more therapeutic and personal orientation of the latter setting. The need for church and state apologies, including dissatisfaction about the Statement of Reconciliation[158], comprised 14% of needs expressed; compensation to revitalize and rebuild culture and communities, and a desire for criminal and civil legal action each made up 10% of statements. More political analysis of causes and impacts occurs in print; four individuals wrote about the need for restoration of land and/or nationhood as an intrinsic part of resolving residential school issues. The need for First Nations control of programs and processes for redress was also mentioned. Figure 5 illustrates these results.

Summary

Figure 6 shows the distribution of need statements across all four sources, with the greatest proportion of speakers addressing the needs for individual counselling and healing, a public inquiry, compensation for individual victims, and broad redress for cultural and community destruction.

We suggest however, that the nature and frequency of demands associated with residential school abuse is changing rapidly. People who may not have analyzed their experience in terms of personal and community impacts ten years ago, almost certainly do so now. As the history and political motives behind residential schools are more widely recognized, the pressure for redress in political terms, affecting the nature of relations and balance of power for native people in Canada, is undoubtedly rising. Unfortunately, we did not count the number of people who mention "Oka" and "Gustafsen Lake" in the course of residential school discussions; it would have been significant. For many, the parallels are clear, and the expectations for meaningful actions are high.

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[158] Federal gov't public expression of regret to native peoples, issued by Minister of Indian Affairs, Jan. 7, 1998

As an issue intimately affecting *all* aboriginal people across Canada, as it has done for several generations, the issue of residential schooling unites hundreds of diverse nations and cultures in recognition of shared injustice and oppression.

Our final observation on the testimony examined, is that the context in which people discuss and gain insight into the impact of abusive experiences affects their perceptions of the needs arising, and the most appropriate form of redress. Groups focused on grief, personal traumas and their impacts, and how these have affected lives and communities, tend to make recommendations focused on healing as a solution to community problems. Others may see residential schools as a "symbol", one of the ways Europeans gained power over Native people and made them second-class citizens. Their recommendations tend to be more political, seeking redress that will change the balance of power between Native and non-Native Canadians.[159]

Apparent bad faith, inaction, or obstruction (see, for example, the article in Appendix 4), on the part of those deemed responsible for the abuse that occurred, will inevitably increase support for those with a political, rather than a personal analysis of the impact of residential schools.

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[159] There is a really good discussion of how these different approaches affect community development, in the Four Worlds document prepared for AFN, Community Healing and Aboriginal Social Security Reform (March 1998)

Number of Survivors Identifying Needs, by Source

Table 1.

Source:	**Graham**		**RCAP**		**Nuu-chah-nulth**		**Media files**		**Total**	
	~1988-93		1992-94		1992-94		~1996-98		244	
Speakers:	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Identifying Needs	6	11%	28	29%	12	67%	66	87%	112	46%
Not Identifying Needs (Descriptive Testimony)	49	89%	67	71%	6	33%	10	13%	132	54%
Total Speakers	55	100%	95	100%	18	100%	76	100%	244	100%

Survivor Needs Identified by Source

Table 2.

Source:	**Graham**	**RCAP**	**Nuu-chah-nulth**	**Media files**	**Total**
	~1988-93	1992-94	(NTC) 1992-94	~1996-98	
Identified Needs:					
Public Recog./Inquiry	0	7	2	25	34
Disclosure/Need to talk	0	5	0	0	5
Healing/Counselling	2	7	10	22	41
Compensation (Individual)	0	6	6	18	30
Culture/Com. Dev./Comp.	1	5	6	11	23
Legal Action/Acctability	1	1	3	11	16
Parenting Skills	0	3	1	0	4
Apology	0	3	1	16	20
Land/Nations	0	0	0	4	4
Process/Program Control	0	0	3	2	5
Control of Education	2	0	0	0	2
Generational Healing	0	0	3	0	3
Urgency of Needs	0	5	1	0	6
Total Statements	6	42	36	109	193

Proportion of Speakers Identifying Needs

Fig. 1

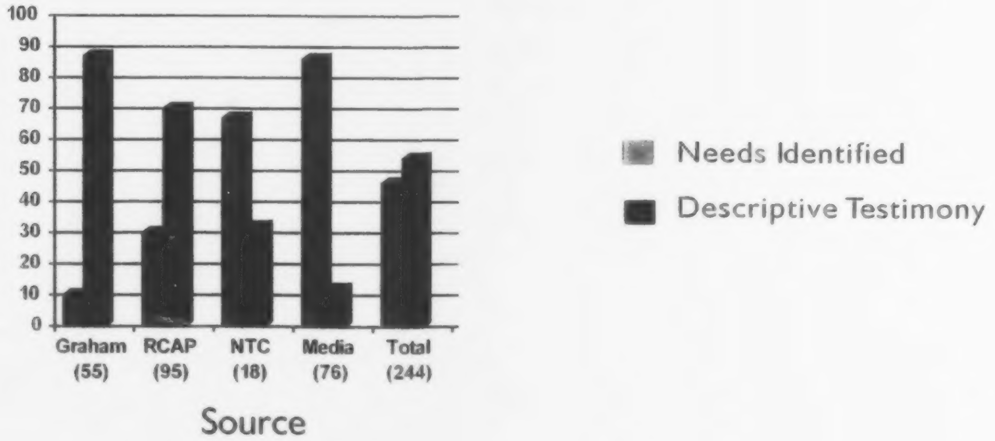

Fig. 2 Graham (6 statements)

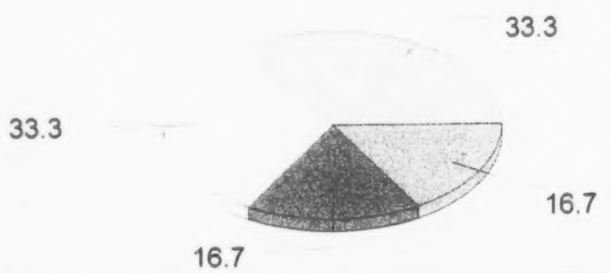

Fig. 3 RCAP (42 statements)

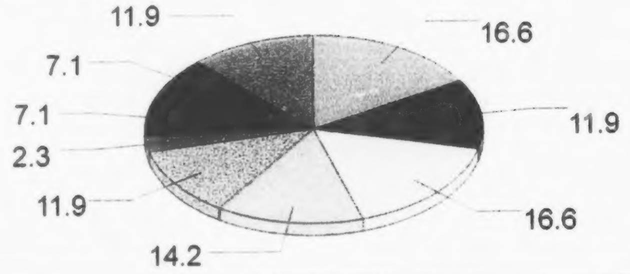

Fig. 4 NTC (36 statements)

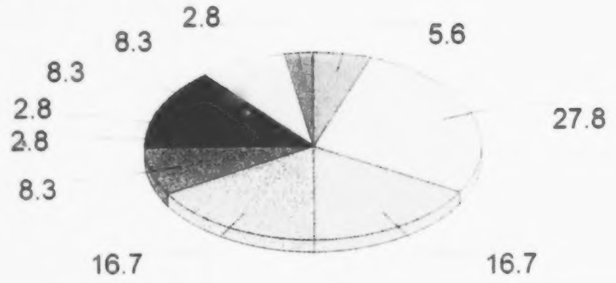

Fig. 5 Media (109 statements)

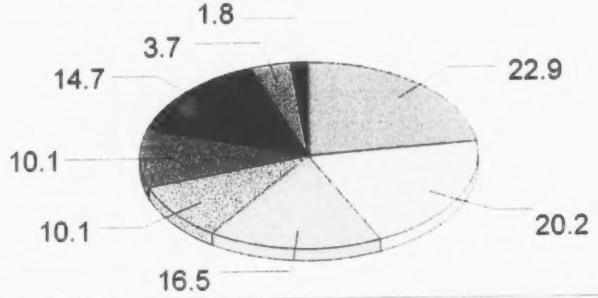

Fig. 6 All Sources (193 statements)

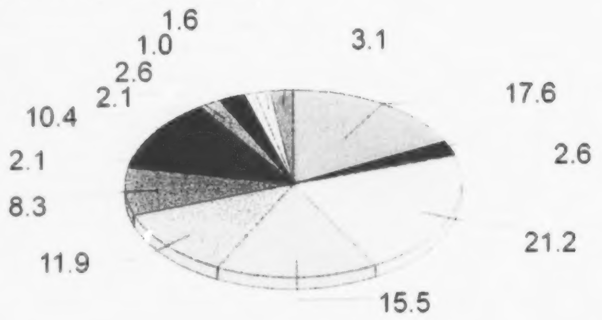

	Fig. 2	Fig. 3	Fig. 4	Fig. 5	Fig. 6
☐ Public Recog./Inquiry	0%	16.6%	5.6%	22.9%	17.6%
■ Disclosure/Need to talk	0%	11.9%	0%	0%	2.6%
☐ Healing/Counselling	33.3%	16.6%	27.8%	20.2%	21.2%
☐ Compensation (Individual)	0%	14. 2%	16.7%	16.5%	15.5%
☐ Culture/Com. Dev./Comp.	16.7%	11.9%	16.7%	10.1%	11.9%
▨ Legal Action/Acctability	16.7%	2.3%	8.3%	10.1%	8.3%
■ Parenting Skills	0%	7.1%	2.8%	0%	2.1%
■ Apology	0%	7.1%	2.8%	14.7%	10.4%
☐ Land/Nations	0%	0%	0%	3.7%	2.1%
■ Process/Program Control	0%	0%	8.3%	1.8%	2.6%
☐ Control of Education	33.3%	0%	0%	0%	1.0%
☐ Generational Healing	0%	0%	8.3%	0%	1.6%
▨ Urgency of Needs	0%	11.9%	2.8%	0%	3.1%

I remember when I was drinking when I was younger. I was in the city and I had just left the bar. I was walking up the street and I saw a nun. I tried to beat her up and I got arrested. I went before a judge and tried to explain to him that I wanted to beat her up because she reminded me of the nuns who used to beat me on my backside with sticks. The other lawyer stopped the trial and when I went back to court a couple of weeks later, I found out that the charges were dropped. I felt really lucky at the time, but now after all these years, I wish I could've said something. I think that I could've told everyone what happened to me and then they would understand why I am the way I am.

9.3 Qualitative Findings

This section incorporates a variety of concerns and opinions expressed with respect to redress options identified. We have grouped comments into five broad subject areas, which appear to us to be the main avenues through which a range of needs can be met. These are,

1. Public Inquiry
2. Individual Compensation
3. Legal Action, including
    - 3.1 Criminal Prosecution
    - 3.2 Civil Litigation
    - 3.3 Mediated and Negotiated Solutions
4. Apology
5. Rebuilding Culture & Community Development, including
    - 5.1 Community Healing
    - 5.2 Individual Healing
    - 5.3 Social Problems
    - 5.4 Language
    - 5.5 Intergenerational Healing
    - 5.6 Restorative Justice
    - 5.7 Structural Change
    - 5.8 Comments on Community Healing and Development

For each subject, a format has been used that briefly notes,

(1) Survivor expectations about the redress option;
(2) Different opinions we found expressed;
(3) Frustrations (or limitations) we found with respect that option.

9.3.1 Public Inquiry

The demand for a public inquiry has been steadily mounting as residential school experiences are brought to light. Aside from therapeutic needs, it was the issue raised most frequently during the Royal Commission hearings, and dominates the needs expressed most frequently in media over the past two years.

Our own experience of the need for people to tell their stories in a receptive forum has been overwhelming; dozens of people have shared their experiences with us, sometimes in the hope that this research represented a place *where something might be done* about the horrors they experienced, other simply wanting to talk. Several people disclosed their experience of abuse for the first time, including a group of women from a remote community who met with a researcher on two occasions, to break their silence and discuss the residential school they all attended, but had never talked about together as adults. Many people have asked us, "Are you going to include my story?", or requested that we go to particular communities to hear survivor testimony firsthand. Allan Longjohn, study panel member and survivor of Duck Lake school, commented that a few phone calls to neighbouring communities would result in hundreds of people coming forward to share their experiences. Former students who may not have organized or met before, seem, in the current climate, ready and anxious to tell their stories.

1.1 Expectations:

- The first step in any compensation and healing for victims of gross violations of human rights must be an acknowledgement of the truth;[160]
- People need to tell their stories in a receptive forum
- To enable people to stand in dignity, voice their sorrow and anger, and be listened to with respect;[161]
- To establish the truth of the past, end public denial, and bring native experience to historical accounts
- Most valuable as a tool of social influence, to affect perceptions, attitudes and behaviour, that determine the way society responds to a problem;[162]
- It will help to answer the question "Why?", that still plagues many survivors;

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[160] Australian Human Rights Commission Report on Aboriginal Injustices, May 1997, quoted in Alkali Residential School Inquiry Report, June 1997

[161] RCAP, p.37

[162] ibid.

- Investigative functions are necessary to understand fully the nature and ramifications of residential school policies, extending beyond the ability of various police forces;
- Making residential school stories part of public discourse is empowering, and begins to reconstruct positive Native identity.
- Telling the stories "brings truth to history", and helps recover collective memories and consciousness.

1.2 Different viewpoints include,

- That an inquiry may draw funds and energy away from more concrete initiatives;
- That a process organized or appointed by government/First Nations political organizations will lack credibility;
- Need to use traditional methods and a council of recognized honest, wise and non-political community members;
- More talk may be another excuse for no action.

1.3 Frustrations with the current situation include,

- The need for an inquiry might have been circumvented if government and churches had voluntarily come forward with full disclosures and accepted responsibility for the damage.
- Prevarication, avoidance, denial, alteration of and withholding of records, and political gamesmanship are perceived to characterize and be influencing the manipulation of residential school issues in the public sphere, creating a climate of distrust which can probably now only be addressed by a thorough inquiry.[163]

At least one survivor group alleges they were victims of medical experiments as children. In addition to routine electroshock, they report the administration of unexplained chest injections and mind-altering drugs, by non-English speaking medical personnel. In the absence of support or response from government and churches, this group is pursuing their enquiries with the Wiesenthal Centre and the

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[163] See for example, *Ottawa Citizen* article, July 1998, in Appendix 4; also Isabelle Knockwood's account of the disappearance of all copies of the Audette Report, a 1934 Royal Commission inquiring into the flogging of 19 boys at Shubenacadie school, along with several years of records (pp.151-2); Vancouver's Truth & Justice Commission (and formerly Circle of Justice) also describe missing records in their archival searches.

United Nations. Given Canada's history and involvement with the CIA in experiments on prisoners and psychiatric patients, and the fact that First Nations children weren't regarded as individuals possessing any rights, the temptation to do studies on such isolated and vulnerable subjects must have existed; the questions raised are well within reason. A Public Enquiry is probably the only method of either confirming or laying to rest such potent allegations, which have major implications for the nature of damage and scope of redress.

9.3.2 Compensation for Individuals

Many victims of abuse feel strongly that they are owed compensation for the wrongs they suffered personally, the impacts it has had on their children, and on their children's children.

2.1 Expectations:

- People are not looking for handouts, but for reasonable compensation for crippling abuse, sufficient for their lifetime; a substantial sum, to make a meaningful difference in their lives and the choices they are able to make;
- Legal accountability for wrongdoing is recognized by payment of compensation;
- Compensation is important in public recognition of wrongdoing;
- Compensation must recognize the seriousness of crimes committed, including wholesale efforts at cultural annihilation, for which individuals should be compensated;
- Estimates of appropriate compensation for victims of long term physical and sexual abuse range from $100,000 to $600,000[164] ;
- One estimate of appropriate compensation for survivors of attempted genocide suggests individual awards of up to $3 million[165] .

2.2 Opinions expressed include,

- That compensation should go to individuals to do with as they please;
- That compensation should to to individuals to pay for required services;
- That compensation should be directed to community efforts, education, healing and intergenerational initiatives (see 9.3.5, Rebuilding Culture & Communities)
- All of the above are expected and required
- No amount of money is sufficient to repair the damage;
- Compensation can be seen as insulting, or "buying off" the wrong;
- That compensation is only a very small part of the issue; more important is recognition of genocide and the criminal existence of such total institutions.

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[164] lawyer Peter Grant

[165] American judge Rudy James, International Human Rights of American Minorities, conversation, June 1998

2.3 Frustrations with the current situation include,

- Compensation must recognize lost education, lost earning potential, and lost achievement potential of survivors;
- There has been no recognition of elderly victims living in poverty;
- Compensation must address poverty as one result of residential schooling;
- Compensation is needed to to pay for helping, counselling and legal services;
- There must be an aboriginal say in decision making;
- People are not being helped to make informed choices before accepting out of court awards;
- Lost earning used to determine compensation are alleged to have been calculated based on welfare income;
- Compensation awards requiring people to forfeit welfare benefits are alleged to have been made, resulting in a profit to the government;
- Most people are going to die before they get any compensation;[166]
- Giving large sums of money to marginalized people does not affect their place in a social structure that keeps them powerless.

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[166] United Church Moderator Bill Phipps, in *First Perspective*, June 1998

9.3.3 Legal Action

3.3.1 Criminal Prosecution

3.1.1 Expectations:

- That abusers will be held accountable for their actions;
- That offenders will be punished
- That survivors will feel believed and vindicated by the court process;
- That convictions may help victims regain a sense of control over their lives;
- That criminal convictions are a recognition of justice for victims in society;
- That abuse will be recognized as a serious crime, not a psychological problem;

3.1.2 Opinions expressed include,

- People who've obtained convictions against their abusers feel empowered;
- Many people will never be able to speak about their experiences;
- Some complainants only seek acknowledgement and apology from the perpetrator;
- Some elders are hurt by the prosecution of church staff;
- Courts do not reflect native values, traditions, or processes.

3.1.3 Frustrations with the criminal justice situation include,

- The system is slow and cumbersome, with too much red tape and adjournments;
- The onus to find funding, provide planning, healing and support through the court process is on survivor's themselves;
- Lack of victim-witness assistants;
- Lack of funding for escorts or supporters;
- Victims can't talk about their experience because of tainting evidence;
- Loss of control of the process;
- Losing on a technicality;
- Being forced to relive horrible details;
- Criminal trials (usually) only meet needs of those who were sexually abused;
- Lack of tools to address physical, emotional, cultural abuse, forced labour, appalling food, and no medical care;
- The subjective definition of abuse;

- Limitations depending on the degree of damage;
- Racism in the justice system;
- Inability to prosecute for lack of detail, such as time and place of incidents;
- Issues of memory and passing time, small inconsistencies are used to undermine whole memories;
- Some perpetrators can't be identified with certainty;
- Many perpetrators are dead, or living outside Canada;
- People get angry about being dragged through the courts;
- Some cases will not be satisfied by the criminal process;
- Victims often feel angry or insulted when the Crown decides there are insufficient grounds to prosecute;
- Some victims don't want to see the offender;
- Some people don't want to testify in open court;
- Crown attorneys are not as helpful or well prepared as they should be, overworked, with limited resources;
- Little time is spent with witness or preparing cases.

As part of our research, we hoped to gain a national picture of the number and status of criminal cases involving residential school abuse. In August, 1998, we received permission from Commissioner Cooper, to request information from the R.C.M.P. on a national level through the Aboriginal Policing Division. We agreed we would be most likely to get responses if questions were brief and simple; with the assistance of Sgts. Aimoe and Courtois, the following questions were distributed in early September to all Divisions:

With regard to sexual, physical, mental or emotional abuse of children at Residential Schools:

1. How many complaints have you received?
2. How many investigations have been conducted within your division?
   - if the investigation involves multiple victims or offenders, how many in each case?
3. How many convictions have you obtained in your division?
   - if known, on what charges, and what were the sentences given?

Unfortunately for us -- but no doubt the information will be useful to others -- the officers feel fairly confident the responses will be returned by early in the new year. At mid-October, only G-Division (NWT) has responded, and their information is as follows:

Residential schools, Northwest Territories[167]

1. Number of Complaints: 2 schools
   (1) Chesterfield Inlet (Sir Joseph Bernier): 150 complaints of physical abuse;
   86 complaints of sexual abuse;
   (2) Grollier Hall: exact number of complaints unknown
   - 21 convictions involving 25 victims

2. Number of Investigations: 2
   (1) Chesterfield - 101 victims and 4 offenders. (3 Catholic clergy, 1 civilian)
   Charges: physical assault, indecent assault
   (2) Grollier Hall - 25 victims and 3 offenders:
   Charges: indecent assault, gross indecency, buggery
   Paul Leroux, 18 victims, convicted on 14 counts;
   George Maczynski, 5 victims, convicted on all counts;
   Jean Comeau, 2 victims, convicted on both counts.

3. Convictions & sentences:
   (1) Chesterfield - concluded that the evidence does not support criminal charges based on consideration of severity of the offences, public interest, staute of limitations, and reasonable prospect of conviction. Some of the offenders were dead.
   (2) Grollier - Leroux: 10 years
   Maczynski: 4 years consecutive to 16 years currently serving for similar offences in BC.
   Comeau: 1 year, consecutive to 1 yr currently serving.

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This will be a useful body of information if it is collected and updated on a national basis.

It is interesting that there have been no complaints registered yet about any of the other 10 NWT schools and hostels, though there are survivor support groups associated with at least two of them.

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[167] Information submitted to Sgt. Laurence Aimoe by Cpl. Charlotte Evans, G-Division

3.3.2 Civil Litigation

Civil suits in progress include Alberni, Grollier Hall, Spanish, Lower Post, Kuper Island, Chesterfield Inlet, Shubenacadie, and reportedly several other schools; there are none that we have learned of in Quebec. The Shingwauk Project has also recommended seeking compensation through the courts. Some former students, have decided as a group that legal action is not their current priority; given the time and energy required to pursue litigation, they've chosen instead to focus on personal healing and community issues.

3.2.1 Expectations:

- People deserve compensation for the crimes that were committed against them;
- Findings of responsibility create justice and empower survivors;
- The strength and credibility of survivors is seen by the public;
- Some survivors say, "We are out to break the church";
- Justice and healing are inseparable.

3.2.2 Different viewpoints include,

- Some people do not want to sue the church;
- Opinion is divided about whether litigation is a good choice.

3.2.3 Frustrations with the civil justice situation include,

- Survivors are re-victimized by the court process;
- The enormous cost; how much are survivors left with at the end?
- Some groups are hiring lawyers who have no experience in sexual or physical abuse cases;
- Some lawyers unintentionally hijack the case; victims lose control;
- Survivors must be informed and empowered to direct their lawsuit, and lawyers must aid in this process;
- Inadequate and/or limited time allowed for disclosures;
- Sometimes not allowed to take advocates or supporters to court;
- More men than women seem able to come forward and participate in community civil actions;
- Unknown lawyers are approaching bands, soliciting business;

- Lack of a national clearinghouse of information on residential school claims;
- Lack of federal support and access to Indian Affairs information;
- Lack of funding to coordinate various claims;
- Lack of basic financial support for survivors, to meet with or hire counsel;
- Lack of information and access to legal process for people in remote areas.

9.3.3 Mediated and Negotiated Solutions

The growing number of residential school lawsuits is forcing the Justice Department to consider negotiated solutions with survivors, rather than fight them on a case by case basis. Aboriginal organizations generally support measures that may make it easier for victims to go through the compensation process. With the exception of the O'Connor case, we've found no residential school cases resolved to anyone's satisfaction outside the formal justice system, though groups of former students have been trying[168].

3.3.1 Expectations:

- Methods which address wrongs holistically, and attempt to resolve issues for all parties at the community level, are important;
- Requires a 100% Native-driven exercise, to respond quickly to needs apparent now[169];
- Enough time has been wasted already;
- There may be more scope for recognition of emotional abuse and cultural damage in negotiated solutions than in the courts;
- Churches must be willing to acknowledge their wrongdoing on a regional and local level;
- Regional approaches to settlement, or on a school-by-school basis, would be practical;
- Focus groups planned by the Assembly of First Nations with parties involved will begin to identify respective needs and interests[170];
- Community legal education is important[171];

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[168] eg. Northern Manitoba and Fort Albany groups.

[169] Shaun Kocis, Manitoba lawyer, conversation, Sept. 98

[170] Maggie Hodgson, conversation, Sept. 1998

[171] Federation of Saskatchewan Indians is moving ahead in this area, prompted by survivors' negative experiences within the justice system, and a number of ethical concerns about current management of residential school cases by some lawyers.

- A variety of resolution models for groups and individuals to choose from will be beneficial to survivors.[172]

3.3.2 Views expressed include,

- Healing Circles require sincere acknowledgement of responsibility and admission of guilt;
- Most important is that a process meets survivor needs to confront and be heard;
- Survivor motivation is 3-fold: wanting perpetrator's to accept responsibility, wanting to see them pay some sort of penalty, and wanting some form of rehabilitation or compensation for damage;
- Personal compensation is only a very small piece of the residential school issue, which is more importantly about the effects of total institutions, cultural domination and control.[173]
- Strictly financial results do not appear to be the main focus for many.[174]
- The government's response to residential school victims has been so appalling to date, that it is inadvisable for former students or their lawyers to discuss the settlement process with anyone[175];
- The government will only be forced to negotiate when they know the complainants are also prepared to bring court action.
- There is need for creativity and a great deal more thought in the development of alternative processes; lawyers need to be able to present a variety of ways and alternatives that might meet victim needs.[176]
- Discussion of alternative processes to deal with residential school issues is at a very early stage; the AFN is just setting up discussions; the Indigenous Bar Association will be raising the issue in November.

3.3.3 Frustrations with current proceedings include,

- There is nothing "alternative" about pre-trial negotiations, and so far, that's all that is happening;
- Mediation is slow and difficult; it takes time to design a process that emphasizes First Nations principles;

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[172] FSI, for one, has such a draft in final approval stages.

[173] Ed Metatawabin, spokesman, *Peetatek Keway Keekaywin* (St. Ann's Residential School Survivors Assoc)

[174] Katherine Peterson, Chesterfield Inlet Inquiry

[175] Karim Ramji, lawyer for a number of BC claimants, Sept. 1998

[176] Diane Corbière, Indigenous Bar Association, Sept. 98

- A Fort Albany, Ont., group has been trying to negotiate for five years, but says the federal government is not responding; the province won't sit down unless the federal government is there;[177]
- A Manitoba group interested in mediation has encountered adamant denial at regional levels by Catholic officials that any abuse of any type occurred in the schools;[178]
- Discovery is a huge challenge, and it is unlikely that relevant documents will be obtained in an out-of-court process;[179]
- Offender denial can defeat the process;[180]

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[177] Ed Metatawabin, noting the Catholic Church is represented and waiting to begin negotiations, but the two levels government have not been cooperative. He notes that they still have legal options to pursue. Sept. 98

[178] Shaun Kocis, Manitoba FN lawyer representing 150 survivors, involved in network of 3-400 more; Sept. 98

[179] Lawyers D.Carlson, S.Williams, representing former students in BC civil claims; Sept. 98

[180] G.Angecomb, "Presentation to Nishnawbe-Aski Nation Conference", 1996; Mr. Angecomb planned and developed his own mediation process, with support from the church to confront and attempt a resolution with an offender. Offender denial resulted in conviction through criminal court.

9.3.4 Apology

While it is not possible to tell how much influence the Statement of Reconciliation had in highlighting this particular need, it is clear that meaningful acknowledgement of wrongdoing is seen as an essential step in the process of restoring balance and harmony between people.

4.1 Expectations:

- Government and churches must acknowledge acculturation policies and their responsibility for the ensuing damage.

An admission of wrongdoing is seen as necessary,

- To make it clear that this will not happen again;
- To help bring closure to individuals living with the aftermath of abuse;
- To acknowledge and recognize peoples' feelings and experiences;
- So people see the government and churches accepting responsibility

4.2 Different viewpoints include,

- That an adequate apology has been made;
- That an apology makes no difference;
- That an apology is a diversion from more important issues;
- The motives for the government apology were only to respond to RCAP, to avoid liability, and to offload programs.

4.3 Frustrations with the current situation include,

- That there is a difference between an expression of regret and an admission of wrongdoing;
- The need for offenders to ask forgiveness of those they have injured;
- The scope of the existing statement, directed at those who suffered abuse, rather than for the genocidal policies affecting all who attended;
- Questioning the validity of apology for historic actions;
- Questioning the concepts of collective delivery and collective acceptance of an apology;

- The need for apologies to be given to the individuals who have been harmed.

Many people are not satisfied with the acknowledgement and apologies issued to date; particularly with regard to church apologies, many people are unaware of their existence. Dissatisfaction centres around wording, meaning, and intent, and also around the nature of delivery. People who have received personal acknowledgement and apology mention it as an important event in their lives, more often than those to whom a public apology was broadcast.

9.3.5 Rebuilding Culture and Community Development

9.5.1 Community Healing

5.1.1 Expectations:

- Resources for conferences, planning sessions, and inter-community consultation;
- Information sharing and distribution, and resources to accomplish this;
- Community healing requires leadership, either from within the community, or from trusted outside resources;
- Help that is limited to making many options available and ensuring people know about them;
- Trust-building and organizational healing within communities is needed;
- Cooperation in seeking resolutions;
- Resources for training and development of local resources;
- Resources for evaluation;
- Respect for different world views, different opinions;
- Resources so people can be free of poverty and fear, (including funding for development of agencies that promote and create safety, such as safe houses, treatment centres, and work opportunities);
- Economic opportunity and social security are essential to community well-being;
- That these resources will come from churches and government;
- That restitution does not mean more piecemeal government programs, doled out to perpetuate a climate of dependency.

5.1.2 Other view expressed include,

- A comprehensive cure calls for understanding the social and political forces that created the history which continues into the present;[181]
- Different reserves, different communities, will need different solutions;
- A great many assets and resources for healing exist in the communities;
- Community healing and development decisions cannot rest at Band level until they have gone through a healing and reconciliation process;

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[181] Roland Chrisjohn, at the First National Conference, Vancouver 1991

- Transformational processes almost always seem to need to be stimulated or supported by outside help.[182]

5.1.3 Frustrations with the current situation include,

- Much of what has been lost will never be recovered;
- With each succeeding generation the damage continues to increase;
- RCAP recommended to the federal government that it spend an additional $2 billion (a year) so aboriginal people can catch up to the rest of Canada....they've made no commitment beyond the healing fund.

An outline of the Four Worlds Residential School Healing Program is included as Appendix 5, as one example of an holistic, community-centred healing program.

9.5.2 Individual Healing

2.1 Expectations:

- Healing is a very personal process; each needs access in an appropriate manner;
- Sobriety is a first step; there must be options for getting there, and support to maintain it;
- Opportunities for gathering and sharing with other survivors;
- Support and resources are needed before beginning a painful process;
- Help in dealing with the anger and grief;
- Access to a range of cultural and therapeutic activities;
- The creation of safe environments to do healing work;
- Opportunities to reconnect, with family, culture, self and community;
- Programs need to be developed by survivors to meet their own needs;
- Residential school survivors need their own groups and places to go; the issues are not the same, and people who weren't at school don't understand;
- Helpers need to be aboriginal people with life experience;
- Access to helping programs and services;
- Women need safe places to talk;
- Personal development, social and economic safety and security are essential for the maintenance of individual well-being.

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[182] Four Worlds International, (March 1998), p.172

2.2 Opinions expressed include:

- Some people find professional therapy or "European" models helpful;
- There is a role for outside professionals, especially in training community people;
- Sobriety doesn't have to be the starting place; people will come to it, as they and the community around them see changes;
- Residential school issues are one part of a range of issues and healing that needs to be dealt with; the process can start anywhere;
- Peer support, elders, and traditional counsellors play an important role;
- Some people, often older people, just don't want the subject raised.

2.3 Frustrations with the current situation include,

- Many communities have little or nothing by way of counselling or healing services;
- Survivors need a choice in counsellors;
- There is no support for community workers, who get burned out;
- Lack of follow-up and support when outsiders come into a community and open the issues, then leave;
- Many areas have no resources or groups working on residential school issues;
- Funding for local initiatives is hard to get;
- There is a huge need for counselling resources, but funding keeps being cut;
- It's not safe for people to disclose in many communities;
- It's hard to create a safe and supportive environment for people in prison;
- It's hard for people to stay sober, healthy and optimistic when there's never any jobs.

5.3 Social Problems

5.3.1 Expectations:

- Long-term, stable funding commitments;
- Increased treatment options, particularly for youth and young adults;
- Access to treatment options;
- Community-based delivery of programs and services;
- Community control of programs and services;

- Training for care-givers;
- Funding for new and expanded health and social programs;
- Services need to be designed and provided by aboriginal people;
- People need to be able to work with counsellors of their own Nation;
- Need for long term services, with follow-up and ongoing support
- Family-centred models are important.

5.3.2 Different viewpoints include:

- Creating more vehicles and organizations for services may spread funds even thinner;
- If community leaders are not healthy, it's hard to confront social problems

5.3.3 Frustrations with the current situation include,

- The government says it's committed to helping, but they're cutting treatment programs;
- Access to services is restricted or limited according to status;
- People are forced to go to certain programs based on where they live;
- Treatment funds are being re-directed; people are being told that certain programs are now accessed through the Healing Foundation;
- Social services agencies with waiting lists for counselling have staffing cut and programs cancelled;
- Some leaders are offending, or protecting offenders, making communities unsafe for women and children;
- For many agencies, funding has either not increased, or gone down over the past 7 years;
- Lack of long term commitment and planning; programs don't get dollars until bodies are lying in the road;
- Divisive and duplicated funding and services, in many health and social areas;
- Access to programs and services is often determined by non-natives unaware of the issues and impacts of residential schools

5.4 Language

4.1 Expectations:

- Provision of opportunities for the revival and maintenance of First Nations languages;
- Support for the revival of language and cultural practices
- Development of language and culture curriculum, particularly for young children;
- Recognition that language is much more than words, but embodies culture, identity and spiritual beliefs;
- Recognition of the intense psychological damage caused by suppression of language;
- Recognition of the trauma caused by children and parents unable to communicate with each other;

4.2 Different viewpoints include,

- "I'm over 60... do they think a *language course* is gonna make me feel any better now?"[183]

4.3 Frustrations expressed included,

- The importance and urgency of continuing and expanding language work that is taking place;
- The state of some languages is critical, almost disappeared.

5.5 Intergenerational Healing

5.1 Expectations

- Need to focus on proactive and preventative programs like Aboriginal Headstart, and CAP-C/Brighter futures programs;
- Funding for programs aimed at young Aboriginal parents and high-risk youth;

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[183] Gilbert Oskaboose, August 1998

- Recognition and resources for interactive whole family programs, where young people learn to parent, incorporating language, culture, traditional values, pride and self-esteem;
- Support for indigenous programs aimed at high risk families;
- We need traditional counselling, opportunities to reconnect with traditions and culture, we need parenting, and traditional family skills;
- Opportunities to teach younger generations that there are alternatives to abuse;
- Information and awareness on the intergenerational effects of abuse is needed;
- Skills and resources to deal with the problems of youth.

5.2 Opinions expressed include,

- Programs like Headstart make changes with very little resources;
- This is an area where we are seeing lots of positive changes;
- The words and ways of the elders and of their families still have tremendous influence.

5.3 Frustrations with the current situation include,

- It will be a long time before students of residential schools are past child-bearing age; it will be another two generations before the residential school experience begins to fade;
- Lack of funds for early childhood and family programs, in spite of concrete evidence of their long term positive impact;
- Pay is not great for helping professions; it's hard to attract qualified staff;
- Inability to provide culturally appropriate parenting programs for lack of knowledgeable elders and other cultural resources;
- Programs are hard to get funded;
- Year-to-year funding and programs are counter productive; staff spend too much time filling in funding applications.

5.6 Restorative Justice

6.1 Expectations:

- The development of justice systems that reflect aboriginal values;
- Restoring balance, bringing healing to both the victim and the offender;
- Resources for development and training at national, regional and community levels;
- Programs to be developed by aboriginal people;
- It's a way of empowering the community to take care of its own.
- First Nations communities and governments will develop their own process and mechanisms to restore and ensure justice and responsible governance within communities and nations;
- Developing our own, or using customary law in child welfare services is especially important;

6.2 Opinions expressed include,

- Traditional laws and the clanship system did much to eliminate or control child sexual abuse;
- Traditional laws were motivated by internalized acceptance rather than external coercion, so they were much more binding on the individual.[184]
- Some people have had to leave their communities because the community justice program did not respect their need for safety.

6.3 Frustrations with the current situation include,

- Court process does not address people's needs, but deals only with sentencing;
- Many First Nations communities have learned to oppress their own people, bought into a belief system that a special few are entitled to privileges;
- Colonization has undermined the role and voice of women in aboriginal societies;
- Councils who, for example, fail to address spousal assault in their communities cannot be trusted to adequately represent the voices of women;
- Some elders and leaders in the process are abusers too, and we need to find ways to deal with this.

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[184] Fournier, p.177

5.7 Structural Change

7.1 Expectations:

- Autonomy in program decision-making;
- Honour existing treaties;
- Allow native people to re-establish their own and traditional forms of government;
- Fair, prompt and judicious settlement of land and resource claims;
- Recognize and address the imbalance, inequalities and inequities between native and non-native nations in Canada;
- Self-sufficiency through economic and resource development;
- Provide tools and resources for self-government;
- Requirements of title extinguishment must be removed immediately.

7.2 Views expressed include,

- Need to give equal weight and consideration, ensure equity on issues affecting Métis and non-status people.

7.3 Frustrations with the current situation include,

- Government wants too much input and direction in how programs are operated;
- Social programs are based on lack of trust, with no sense that organizers are qualified to make decisions;
- Rules and red tape are preventing access and use of services that do exist;
- Government must not design the programs and administrative structures for services to aboriginal people.

3.5.8 Comments on Healing and Development

The move towards community wellness and the rebuilding of healthy aboriginal communities requires a sustained and comprehensive approach over a long period of time. Piecemeal program funding for one, two or even five years, does not create the lasting changes that people are seeking, as they attempt to address the impacts of of residential schooling, and rebuild nations. International development agencies, and some North American foundations, are increasingly recognizing that funding for community-based health initiatives requires a minimum seven to ten year commitment to create sustainable change.

A comprehensive, long term vision for community development among First Nations, Inuit, and Métis groups is required, in order to bring about effective rebuilding on a national scale.[185] A holistic approach to achieving health, where health is the outcome of living well, in harmony, with control over the forces affecting everyday life, and with hope for one's children and one's land, is key to this vision. When a holistic approach to the determinants of health is adopted, any single initiative, whether it is focused on residential school healing, child sexual abuse, parenting, addictions, or restorative justice for example, becomes a door through which all of the interconnected factors in determining community wellness can be addressed.

The current lack of such a comprehensive vision, will impact on the effectiveness of any single program developed in response to residential schooling, likely to render it a bandaid, stuck on in a panic attempt to do "something... anything", before the money runs out. A single program focus ignores the need for overall capacity building at the community level. A focus *on* capacity building, engaging members of the community to articulate and develop their own needs, guiding principles, and measurement tools, creates the ability within communities to determine and address specific health needs, including, but not limited to, residential school issues.

A major barrier to holistic community healing and development is that knowledge of healing methods and processes, techniques to strengthen existing resources and capability within communities, is scattered and not well understood. Many communities, urban and rural, don't yet know that such expertise exists, or if they do, it remains inaccessible.

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[185] Much indebted to Michael Bopp and Phil Lane (Four Worlds International) for discussing and clarifying issues around community healing, the values and principles underlying effective, holistic community development. Their work, "Community Healing and Aboriginal Social Security Reform: A study prepared for the Assembly of First Nations", is an outstanding reference in this area.

The urban environment presents some challenges for wellness and capacity building within aboriginal communities, but the same principles apply for effective community development. If there is a generic map of the process, common understanding of principles and goals, the range of agencies and individuals working together in cities are a tremendous asset in creating an urban framework for wellness. The critical first step for all communities, is the national articulation of a vision of healthy native communities; the second step is long-term provision for establishing the process and means to achieve it.

One estimate of the cost of long term capacity building and development in communities, shown to have a lasting impact, is ~$100,000 a year, for a minimum of five years.[186] This represents all costs of meetings between facilitators and a core group within the community, to develop goals, process, and plans, as well as a detailed curriculum for creating change in the community. It includes individual and group healing and counselling as a foundation for change, and to strengthen skills and capacity within the community. Inevitably, it is a process that spills over and has influence beyond the core group.

Models for sustainable community development do exist. Four Worlds International Institute, who have been involved in community development work internationally for twenty-five years, suggest the setting up and training of mobile, regional technical assistance groups to assist communities in healing. A regional model allows for training and development of expertise within communities, and creates a pool of resources for many communities to draw on. This would help prevent the drain that currently occurs, when skills and leadership are repeatedly borrowed from the same communities, over and over again. To be practical, such groups need to be established and coordinated on a province-by-province basis. But before this can happen, however, a coordinated national vision needs to be articulated.

As many people have pointed out, there is an overwhelming need for "community healing", to address a whole range of residential school impacts that are being felt within communities. All aboriginal approaches to healing we encountered begin with the premise that entire Nations were injured, wounded and almost entirely destroyed by colonialism. This injury involves the emotional, spiritual, mental and physical parts of themselves and their Nations, and consequently, all of these areas must be addressed in the rebuilding process.[187]

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[186] Michael Bopp and Phil Lane, conversation, Sept. 1998

[187] Flynn, p.19

We suggest that single issue program or project funding is less likely to create widespread social and economic renewal, than a coordinated, holistic, national approach to cultural, social, and economic development.

My brother was at residential school. He was always getting lickins so he decided to run away and go home. He was never found. The Father said it was his fault. Another sister I have committed suicide one summer when we were home. I think it was because she was always getting beatings as well. I think that we were always afraid all the time, and my sister couldn't take it anymore. We never got our dry meat or letters from my mother even though she told us she sent them. It was a horrible time and I am still mad at the church for treating us this way. I think there should be a group in town here where we can tell our stories because it feels good to talk about this. My family needs to talk about this.

10. Recommendations

10.1 An Overview of Recommendations to Date

The nature of recommendations made in different forums, like the needs identified in survivor statements, vary according to the particular focus of the group or author. We survey these recommendations briefly here. Rather than footnote extensively throughout, we refer you to the complete texts of recommendations drawn from 15 sources, included as Appendix 1.

1. Recommendations Regarding Public Inquiry, Recognition, and Education

A public inquiry has been called for specifically by the Royal Commission, the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation Report, the Chesterfield Inlet Inquiry, the AFN's 1996 National Report, in The Circle Game, and the Grollier Hall Report. While not specifying a method, the Nuu-chah-nulth conference called for investigation of unexplained deaths and publicization of residential school abuses, both issues that would be well served by an inquiry.

Broader recommendations regarding "raising public consciousness" and "public education" were made by all of the above, as well as in Rosalyn Ing's study, Elizabeth Furniss's book, the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council's 1996 recommendations, and a recent statement by *Survivors Tasiuqtit.*

The Report of the National Residential School Review Project (AFN, 1996) called for the creation of memorials for the children who died in residential schools.

Dr. Roland Chrisjohn's recommendation to public recognition is blunt, as he reluctantly repeats variations on recommendations that have gone unheeded before, and concludes,

> *"If nothing is to be done in the way of bringing about these or similar recommendations, we ask that an open and honest declaration be made that our destruction, as Aboriginal Peoples, is official governmental policy."*[107]

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[107] Chrisjohn (1997). p.112

2. Recommendations Regarding Individual Compensation

The issue of compensation for individuals is addressed in different ways. The 1991 Residential Schools Conference, Furniss, and Chrisjohn clearly recommend compensation for individual victims of abuse. Peterson and the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation recommend individuals receive compensation to access the healing services of their choice. The Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (1994 & 1996) makes more general recommendations regarding the right of individuals to receive compensation.

3. Recommendations Regarding Legal Action

The 1994 NTC conference recommended support for legal action, both for individual survivors of abuse, and for the cultural damage caused by residential schools. Their 1996 recommendations recommended various ways to aid in the criminal investigation process; they also recommended consideration of possible negotiated solutions, provided they were not prejudicial to other settlements.

Recommendations regarding access to legal information and advice for former students were made by the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (1996) and *Survivors Tasiuqtit*; Katherine Peterson's report went further, to recommend provision of funding to allow former students to explore legal options. She also recommended information sharing on the progress of investigations and court cases.

"The Report of the Victim/Witness Program" in the Grollier Hall criminal trial, was the only document that specifically recommended the exploration of an alternative disclosure process, to reduce the the trauma of survivors; it also recommended an increased territorial Victim Services budget, to adequately fund support in such trials.

4. Recommendations Regarding Apologies

Recommendations regarding church and government apologies, and the need for full admission of responsibility for residential schools and their ensuing damage, were made at the National Conference in 1991; the 1994 Nuu-chah-nulth Conference; in Breaking the Silence, the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation Report, Victims of Benevolence, the Royal Commission Report, the Nuu-chah-nulth study, the AFN's 1996 Report, and in The Circle Game.

5. Recommendations Regarding Healing and Rebuilding Culture

(a) For Communities and Nations:

The need for large scale cultural healing and rebuilding, community development and revitalization are the primary focus of recommendations in several works. Recommendations in Breaking the Silence focus almost entirely on the principles and processes required to bring this about. The Vancouver Conference (91), the AFN's 1996 report, and Roland Chrisjohn include recommendations specific to the need for culturally appropriate development, First Nations control, and the need for community wellness and planning anchored in a clear vision.

Recommendations for culturally based healing, particularly the need for language and educational development, and programs and services for victims of cultural destruction, have been made by Ing, the Cariboo and Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Councils, the AFN, and *Survivors Tasiuqtit.* To seek or provide funding for these aims is recommended by Peterson, RCAP, the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, the 1991 National Conference; the AFN (1996) recommendations specifically address the need for new (and not redirected) funds.

The demand that cultural damage, particularly loss of languages, be compensated, is found in recommendations by Chrisjohn, the AFN, the Nishnawbe-Aski nation, the Vancouver Conference, the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal council.

Five reports make recommendations to address the role and importance of family in rebuilding culture: Ing, the Report of the 1991 National Conference, the Nuu-chah-nulth (1994 & 1996), and the Assembly of First Nations (1994). Breaking the Silence also recommends the development of culturally appropriate justice programs as an essential part of restoring culture.

Several reports make recommendations about the need for aboriginal research, primarily the need for records gathering, identification of students, abusers, and the creation of archives; some speak to identification of successful, appropriate programs and services. Sources include RCAP, AFN (96), Nuu-chah-nulth and Cariboo Tribal Councils, *Survivors Tasiuqtit*, and Chrisjohn.

Recommendations regarding the need for communication and networking among residential school groups occur in three sources, including the Nuu-chah-nulth's recommendation that survivors in prison need to be included in the process.

(b) For Individuals:

With regard to the personal healing needs of individuals, the need for provision, funding of, and access to treatment programs and resources was addressed in recommendations in, Breaking the Silence, Peterson's report, the Nuu-chah-nulth (NTC) study, RCAP, The Circle Game, and the AFN's 1996 report.

Recommendations addressing the need for survivor meetings or conferences have been made by AFN (96) and NTC (96); the need for staffing and or training to cope with counselling needs was also recommended by NTC (94), in Laurence Norbert's report, and in Ing's study. Recommendations regarding the high priority for personal healing are found in Ing, and the 1996 NTC study; NTCs 1994 recommendations also include recognition of the importance of personal healing work for leaders.

(c) Recommendations About Government Relationships

Some sources address the relationship between First Nations and Canada that gave rise to residential schools in the first place. The Vancouver Conference, Furniss, Miller, and Chrisjohn identify the continued paternalism and interference of government in native affairs; Chrisjohn in particular recommends the resolution of land claims as fundamental to establishing an equitable relationship. Breaking the Silence recommends that First Nations poverty must be dealt with as part of the resolution process; the 1996 AFN report recommends more balanced funding, as opposed to current piecemeal program funding with its difficult and changing requirements. The Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council recommends adopting restorative justice processes to meet and reflect aboriginal needs. Peterson recommends coordination and communication in government and community initiatives aimed at resolving residential school issues.

Finally, the need for expeditious action, particularly recognizing the numbers of elders affected, is addressed in recommendations by the Nuu-chah-nulth (94 & 96), the Cariboo Tribal Council, Peterson, and the Assembly of First Nations (96).

10.2 Recommendations of This Report

2.1 URGENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Immediate action is required to recognize and redress the damage of residential school policy for people age 50 and over. We recommend,

1. Financial Compensation for those who attended residential schools or hostels,[108] in the form of a lump sum payment, or a lifetime survivor's pension, according to beneficiary wishes.

2. A Disclosure Process to be established, with provincial panels empowered to,
   - conduct public education and awareness regarding disclosure process;
   - record survivor testimony, in private or public settings;
   - provide information on criminal and civil remedies;
   - determine and finalize fair and just compensation for individuals who suffered abuse.

A majority of panel members should be former residential school students; survivors must be able to be heard and responded to in the language of their choice. Unless accepted, compensation decisions of the panel should not be binding; individuals must retain the option to pursue civil court claims.

4. This Disclosure Process must not be time limited.

5. A national coordinating body, made up of respected community members, unaffiliated with aboriginal political organizations, should define and oversee this process. Including international human rights expertise, and supported by native non-native legal and judicial advice, this body should be key in setting up guidelines for financial compensation.

6. Administrative and financial mechanisms be set up to ensure prompt processing of financial redress.

7. Formal recognition of the injustice perpetrated on individuals and their nations, including comprehensive apologies and acknowledgment of direct responsibility for residential schools by government and churches is still required. But in the present climate, more words simply add insult to injury; concrete action must come first.

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[108] Attendance is defined as those children who lived at school during the school year, and were locked in at night.

2.2 GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that a national public inquiry to be commissioned, to investigate and document all aspects of residential school policies and practices, with legislated powers to examine documents, hear testimony, subpoena witnesses and lay charges. In recognition of the fact that mass violations of human rights do not belong in the sphere of domestic jurisdiction, this commission must include representatives of international human rights organizations.

2. We recommend a Disclosure Process as described in *Urgent Recommendations , #2 through #6,* be made available to all former residential schools students, as an alternative to civil court process. While its priority must be hearing and responding to elders, it should be up to the national body to determine the best method and timeframe for responding to other survivors.

3. We recommend Financial Compensation for those who attended residential schools or hostels, in the form of a lump sum payment, or a lifetime survivor's pension, according to beneficiary wishes.

4. We recommend that any Native person suffering from the effects of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse at residential school, be able to access without delay or restriction, any treatment option(s) of their choice.

5. We recommend the governments and churches establish an open-ended fund under Aboriginal control, for

- investment in human development and training
- institutional development and capacity building
- community economic development
- healing, education and training for individuals
- organizational learning and development
- social and cultural development, education, and programming

and any other work deemed necessary in rebuilding Aboriginal societies.

6. We recommend the dismantling of Indian Affairs and other federal social, health, education and economic development programs directed at Aboriginal people, and their replacement with an Aboriginal institution to administer funds in ways that are consistent with Aboriginal needs and philosophies.

7. We recommend the immediate settlement of land and resource claims, in a manner that guarantees an adequate and sustainable resource base for all nations.

8. We recommend the establishment of a national archives and video collections related to residential schools, to

- maintain and provide research access to a centralized records repository for residential school information;
- provide financial assistance for the collection of testimony and continuing research;
- work with educators in the design of Aboriginal curriculum that explains the history and effects of residential schools; and
- conduct public education programs on the history and effects of residential schools.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Recommendations Already Made

Presented here, in chronological order since 1990, are the recommendations (sometimes noted as "objectives", "needs", or "key messages") we've found regarding the resolution and redress of residential school issues. Text in italics indicates direct transcription (quotation) from the original material; we have edited as little as possible.

Some of the recommendations are directed to government; others are internal recommendations for action within a particular group. Their consistency -- the repetitiveness of certain themes – speaks for itself. They include:

I Rosalyn Ing (1990)
II First Canadian Conference on Residential Schooling (1991)
III Cariboo Tribal Council Study (1991)
IV Assembly of First Nations (Breaking the Silence) (1994)
V Katherine Peterson (1994)
VI Nuu-chah-nulth Residential School Conference (1994)
VII Elizabeth Furniss (1995)
VIII Nishnawbe-Aski Nation Report (1995)
IX The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996)
X Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (Indian Residential Schools) (1996)
XI Assembly of First Nations (Residential School Review Project) (1996)
XII Roland Chrisjohn & others (The Circle Game) (1997)
XIII Laurence Norbert (Grollier Hall Report) (1998)
XIV *Survivors Tasiuqtit* (Statement on Historical Abuse) (1998)
XV Four Worlds International Institute, "*Executive Summary of the Self-Sufficiency and Social Security Reform*" (1998). This document and its recommendations follow in their original form, included with permission.

I. N. Rosalyn Ing, (The Effects of Residential Schools on Native Child-Rearing Patterns, 1990), recommended:

1. Healing workshops are necessary to help people make the connection between present functioning and past experience;

2. Survivors are needlessly burdened with guilt resentment, anger, revenge and frustrations; health care professionals must encourage clients to talk out these hurts and involve spiritual leaders in providing support;

3. Native parenting programs stressing cultural and traditional child-rearing patterns must be implemented.

4. Native parents must return to the elders who will help them recapture the vision of the family;

5. The chaotic conditions of the Native family is traced to the residential school education which caused this disintegration. Society does not adequately recognize this. . .

6. Parental involvement and local control of education;

7. Provide cultural/traditional parenting programs connected with schools, as parents who attended residential institutions still fear schools.[1]

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[1] Ing, 1990, pp.80-82

II. "Summary of Proceedings of the First Canadian Conference on Residential Schooling"[2] (1991) contained key messages:

1. The need for planning anchored in a clear vision. (Phil Fontaine)

2. Wellness is a precondition for self-government. (Chief Christopher)

3. The family is the first teacher. Transformation will come through communication. (Lorna Williams)

4. We live in critical times as people. Our fundamental problem is the nature of our relationship with Canada. Structural change in laws and policies is essential. We need to ensure that our recovery is founded on structural change. (Ovide Mercredi)

5. Church and government must acknowledge creation of the problem, apologize, and allocate resources for services and programs necessary for healing, recovery, and development, as well as to compensate individuals handicapped or crippled by treatment in residential school. (O. Mercredi)

6. We need to be responsible and credible to receive and utilize these resources. (O. Mercredi)

7. We must diminish adversarial relations and confrontation, and build mutual respect. "Heal the child, the family, community, and nation." (O. Mercredi)

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[2] W.J. (Bill) Mussell, "Institutionalization and Cultural Devaluation: The Effects of Residential Schooling" (Conference Proceedings, Vancouver, 1991) pp.8-9

III. The Cariboo Tribal Council study (1991), identified needs for:

- *collaboration between "mental health professionals" and community members to identify what their situations require;*
- *individual treatment is not the entirety of what should constitute remediation;*
- *A long-term strategy for integrating professional and community approaches, possibly including further training of community members;*
- *Evaluation of community-based programs to sort out what helps from what doesn't;*
- *A thorough understanding of the political and social forces that shaped the assault;*
- *Whatever help can be mustered must be made available with all speed.*[3]

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[4] AFN, 1994, pp.185-186

IV. Assembly of First Nations, (Breaking the Silence, 1994) recommended:

- *A commitment to the principles of respect, responsibility and cooperation are necessary to healing and training*
- *Effective effort towards healing begins with the involvement of all community members and follows a process which demonstrates respect for the needs of each individual and family within the community, and must be community-driven to ensure ownership and responsibility of the initiative.*
- *The discussion of a model unique to First Nations perspectives has been suggested as a possible framework for healing. This model draws on traditional understandings of interconnectedness and wholeness. From this point of view, healing must address the physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual aspects of individual, family and community life.*
- *Attempting to understand history from a First Nations' perspective by turning to elders and participating in ceremonies and drawing on traditional knowledge and practices of healing and living are ways of healing spiritually.*
- *The provision of opportunities for the revival and maintenance of First Nations languages are a further way of rebuilding spirit.*
- *The ongoing effort towards the treatment of addictions remains fundamental to healing. A scarcity of treatment options and opportunities is evident, particularly for youth and young adults.*
- *Suggestions for healing also include the development of policing and judicial systems culturally appropriate to First Nations. The development of family programs which focus on ongoing treatment and counseling for both victims and offenders are much needed. In addition, the opportunity to learn a wide variety of skills necessary for family life, including communication and parenting skills, the opportunity to learn job skills and learning to remain gainfully employed are also of paramount importance to the positive development of a productive family life.*
- *The well being of First Nations, individually and communally, must include the acknowledgement and grieving of multi-generational losses First Nations people have experienced. Addressing issues of grief and loss is included in the process of resolving issues such as poverty, which continue to oppress First Nations people.*
- *Addressing family violence and grief presupposes the development of individual and communal healing alternatives and programs which are developed according to community needs and available resources.*[4]

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[4] AFN, 1994, pp.185-186

Breaking the Silence also echoed the call for certain types of research, recommended by the Cariboo Tribal Council in 1991, including:

- *the collection of detailed information of First Nations healing initiatives already under way across Canada;*
- *the development of appropriate criteria for and the evaluation of the strengths and limits of these initiatives; and*
- *the development of an effective networking system which allows for both descriptive and evaluative information to reach First Nations individuals and communities across Canada.*

V. Katherine Peterson, Q.C., ("Sir Joseph Bernier Federal Day School (Turquetil Hall) Investigation Report", 1994) recommended:

1. That individuals be supported with financial assistance in exploring the extent to which, in particular cases, civil legal relief is available in the form of an action in tort or negligence.

2. (superceded)

3. The RCMP and federal Department of Justice should be requested to keep the Government of the Northwest Territories informed respecting decisions made regarding criminal prosecutions, and the progress of any such prosecutions.

4. Negotiations be immediately undertaken with the Roman Catholic Church and the federal government to identify financial and human resources to be committed to healing, therapy and counselling services for former students and their families.

5. That counselling and support services be provided to the former students in the form of:

- *the establishment of regional healing facilities;*
- *provision of counselling at a community level by persons trained in the field of adult survivors of abuse, with the advice and assistance of community resources;*
- *that individuals be financially supported in obtaining counselling and therapy from other available centres and resources.*

6. That the Government of the Northwest Territories liaise with the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples to obtain the benefit of its experience and resources in this field and with a view to coordinating responses as between different levels of government and aboriginal organizations.

7. That in the event that negotiations with the Church and federal government do not proceed satisfactorily, a Public Inquiry be convened to examine the experience of students of residential school facilities across the Northwest Territories. The terms of reference of any such public inquiry should include a mandate to investigate circumstances of alleged physical, sexual and emotional abuse at residential schools, the quality of education received by students of these facilities, the availability of treatment and healing models for survivors of abuse.

8. That a working group be convened, made up of representatives of former students of *residential schools in the Northwest Territories, managing organizations such as the Roman Catholic Church and the two levels of government and experts in the field of treatment of adult survivors to consult with former students and communities with a view to recommending treatment models and methods of delivery of support services to former students or to survivors of abuse generally.*

9. That the government of the Northwest Territories undertake a campaign of public awareness and education directed to survivors of abuse, including the production of handbook materials which include the experiences of survivors, common symptoms of abuse, trauma and approaches to healing, with such material to be made widely available across the Northwest Territories.

10. That the Government of the Northwest Territories keep former students apprised of any and all initiatives undertaken in addressing these issues.

Peterson concludes her recommendations by saying, "In my view, the concerns that have been raised are serious and substantiated and require an earnest and expeditious response. The greatest area of emphasis in this response ought to be the removal of secrecy, stigma and isolation that forms such a large part of the lives of these individuals."[5]

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[5] Peterson, 1994, pp. 29-31

VI. Nuu-Chah-nulth Residential School Conference (1994), recommended:

1. As leaders, recognize how important it is to carry on with a program of healing. Treat this like an 'EMERGENCY CASE".

2. In all regions, encourage and facilitate follow-up work to the Nuu-chah-nulth Residential School working conference

3. Re-hire unemployed Kuu-as Nuu-chah-nulth A&D counsellors

4. Seek public apologies from the churches which ran, and the governments which funded, residential schools

5. Litigate, proceed with legal action, seeking monetary compensation, against the governments, churches, and individuals responsible for the damage done to all Nuu-chah-nulth individuals and to Nuu-chah-nulth culture as a whole

6. Communicate all important information on residential school issues, and opportunities for healing, to those interested

7. Help make possible production of a video tape account of the Nuu-chah-nulth Residential School Working Conference. Circulate it.

8. Lend political support to residential school court cases brought by victim/survivors

9. Help enable Nuu-chah-nulth people in prison to attend residential school workshops and conferences

10. Coordinate coast-wide efforts to deal with our lasting pain

11. Honour Nuu-chah-nulth heroes who struggled against the churches and residential schools that were destroying our culture

12. Practice and strengthen Nuu-chah-nulth language, songs, and culture on a regular and continuous basis, to benefit our youth

13. Train Nuu-chah-nulth workers in the health field to be culturally sensitive, and locate them in our communities

14. Investigate the circumstances surrounding the deaths of those Nuu-chah-nulth children who died in residential schools, or who died immediately after leaving residential schools

15. Publicize the fact that some of our people died, while in residential schools, as a result of beating received there

16. Coordinate a program of Nuu-chah-nulth language education aimed at helping both children and adults

17. Encourage the use of Nuu-chah-nulth names at all Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council functions

18. As leaders, deal with your own residential school issues before treaty making with the Mahmalthnii governments

19. Convene special meetings to address residential school issues in Nuu-chah-nulth country

*20. Help procure **$$$** to fund much needed healing work*

21. Make mental health and social issues high priorities

22. Help Nuu-chah-nulth people find and diagram their family roots, and keep a central repository of Nuu-chah-nulth genealogies

23. Make and maintain a complete list of Nuu-chah-nulth residential school victims and survivors

24. Make and maintain lists of residential school staff members that were abusive to Nuu-chah-nulth students

25. Develop a plan to provide help for children of residential school victims and survivors

26. As Nuu-chah-nulth leaders, practice humility[6]

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[6] in Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (1996) at pp.209-210

VI. Elizabeth Furniss, (Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake Residential School, 1995) identified needs for:

- *Public statements from church and government acknowledging responsibility for the abuses that occurred;*
- *Financial compensation to the victims of residential school abuse;*
- *Financial and other support for native efforts to raise the historical consciousness of the non-Native Canadian public.*
- *(A need to address) the continued existence of the Indian Act, and the role of the Dept. of Indian Affairs, (and other manifestations of the) ongoing belief that Native people cannot make responsible decisions for themselves.*[7]
- *Telling the stories of the devastating impact these attitudes, their reflection in legislation and policy, has had on individual lives, is critical in preventing these tragedies from being repeated.*[8]

Furniss's work is descriptive and analytical, and while no specific recommendations as such are listed, these directions for necessary change are identified within the text. Furniss examines residential schools in the context of the structural relationship between Native peoples and the federal government in order to highlight a larger problem:

> *"This larger problem is not that the Indian residential school system existed, or that its effects may have been good or bad, but that certain groups in society have presumed to know what is in Native peoples' best interests, and that these groups have held, and continue to hold, the power and authority to interfere in Native people's lives and to enforce conditions that Native people oppose."*[9]

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[7] Furniss, 1995, pp.114-118

[8] ibid, pp.119-120

[9] ibid, p.35

VIII. The Nishnawbe-Aski Nation ("Report on Residential School Meetings", 1995) recommended:

- *The need for residential school issues to be brought to the forefront of consciousness of all Canadian people;*
- *The need for widespread education, a national campaign informing the general population about the effects of the schools;*
- *The need for an investigative process to explain many things that happened, and bring peace of mind to those whose children disappeared;*
- *The need for government and churches to acknowledge acculturation policies, and their responsibility for the ensuing damage;*
- *Provision of financial compensation, for individuals to obtain healing services of their choice;*
- *Funding commitments from church and government for ongoing programming, reunions, survivor conferences and seminars, language centres, curriculum for history within schools, and curriculum for training to meet the needs of survivors, families and communities.*[10]

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[10] Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, 1995, pp.10-15

IX. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, (1996) recommended:

1.10.1

Under Part I of the Public Inquiries Act, the government of Canada establish a public inquiry to

(a) investigate and document the origins and effects of residential school policies and practices respecting all Aboriginal peoples, with particular attention to the nature and extent of effects on subsequent generations of individuals and families, and on communities and Aboriginal societies;

(b) conduct public hearing across the country with sufficient funding to enable the testimony of affected persons to be heard;

(c) commission research and analysis of the breadth of the effects of these policies and practices;

(d) investigate the record of residential schools with a view to the identification of abuse and what action, if any, is considered appropriate; and

(e) recommend remedial action by governments and the responsible churches deemed necessary by the inquiry to relieve conditions created by the residential school experience, including as appropriate,

- *apologies by those responsible*
- *compensation of communities to design and administer programs that help the healing process and rebuild their community life; and*
- *funding for treatment of affected individuals and their families.*

10.1.2

A majority of commissioners appointed to this public inquiry be Aboriginal.

1.10.3

The government of Canada fund establishment of a national repository of records and video collections related to residential schools, coordinated with planning of the recommended Aboriginal Peoples' International University (Vol.3, Chapter 5) and its electronic clearinghouse, to

- *facilitate access to documentation and electronic exchange of research on residential schools;*
- *provide financial assistance for the collection of testimony and continuing research;*
- *work with educators in the design of Aboriginal curriculum that explains the history and effects of residential schools; and*

- *conduct public education programs on the history and effects of residential schools and remedies applied to relieve their negative effects.*"[11]

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[11] RCAP, vol 1, ch.10, at http://www.gcc.ca/socialissues/resident.htm. pp.37-38

X. The Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, (Indian Residential Schools: The Nuu-chah-nulth Experience, 1996) recommended:

1. *Increase Public Awareness*
   - *a) To make the Nuu-chah-nulth residential school study available in all Nuu-chah-nulth communities.*
   - *b) To publish the study for general public education.*
   - *c) To maintain a series of press releases/information about residential schools, including progress of RCMP investigations.*
   - *d) To make the Nuu-chah-nulth residential school conference video widely available.*
   - *e) To work with the B.C. First Nations Summit on public information and education about residential schools.*
   - *f) To lobby churches and governments to recognize the injustice perpetuated by their continued denial of the existence of widespread abuses within the residential school system, to provide apologies for their parts in setting up, overseeing and operating the residential school system, and to give assurances that such abuses of human rights will never again be imposed on anyone else.*

2. *Support R.C.M.P investigation of Residential Schools*
   - *a) NTC and each Nuu-chah-nulth Nation to notify RCMP of preparedness to participate in the investigation and provide support to victims.*
   - *b) Designate contact/support people for those involved in the investigation.*
   - *c) Arrange community meetings to introduce investigators.*
   - *d) Ensure investigation protocol is available and understood in the communities.*

3. *Provide short term support to victims of Residential Schools*
   - *a) NTC and each member First Nation make a declaration of support for those people who are working on residential school issues, and take steps to honour and acknowledge their work.*
   - *b) To obtain funding to extend the current NTC residential school support worker positions... for as long as needed.*
   - *c) Each Nuu-chah-nulth community should hire at least one counsellor/support worker to be available within the community with a mandate to provide support around residential school issues.*
   - *d) Each Nuu-chah-nulth community provide opportunities for people to get together and talk about residential school issues in a safe and supportive environment.*

e) Each community and NTC seek resources to support healing process through counselling/therapy, support groups, gatherings and other means such as "power plays".

f) Respect each person's need to deal with residential school issues in their own way, at their own time, and at their own pace. Support those who want to work now, and encourage others but do not push people into anything they are not ready for.

g) Provide training directly or jointly with other First Nations to ensure support workers are familiar with the history, impacts, issues and healing processes around residential school issues.

4. Plan for Negotiated or Litigated Resolution of Issues

a) Seek legal opinion on options for civil action to secure compensation/ resources for healing, based in part, but not limited to, on findings of RCMP criminal investigation.

b) Remain open to the possibility of negotiating resources from federal or provincial governments and churches as an interim measure, provided this does not prejudice an eventual settlement. Opportunities to assist elders should receive particular attention.

c) Eventual resolution should respect the right of individuals to receive compensation for injuries suffered.

d) Settlement also needs to provide for communal measures to support healing and to support Nuu-chah-nulth institutions of government and education, including:

i) Because the schools were an institution designed to destroy culture, it is appropriate to create a Nuu-chah-nulth institution to rebuild and promote culture. Such an institution would combine elements of healing, research, teaching and education.

ii) Elimination of language was a key element in the destruction of Nuu-chah-nulth systems, so a broad program to document and teach language is a logical way to offset that impact.

iii) Healing will involve restoring spiritual connections to the environment, so outdoor healing programs will be required, in places where the spiritual forces have not been disrupted.

iv) There need to be programs which address healing of residential school victims in a holistic way which draws on the strength of Nuu-chah-nulth teachings, recognizing that the issues to be worked on extend into many areas, including respect for others, lifeskills, parenting skills, offending behaviors, and addictions.

e) Mahmalthni[12] justice is confrontational and provides no avenue for reconciliation.

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[12] "(literally boat people)", NTC 1996, p. ix

Because victims of residential school staff took their learning of abuse home and offended against members of their own families and communities, it will be necessary to develop and implement a community-based system of justice which will follow Nuu-chah-nulth processes to correct such wrongs, to correct offenders, and provide for their rehabilitation with the support of the families affected.[13]

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[13] NTC, 1996, pp.207-209

XI. The Assembly of First Nations ("Final Report of the National Residential Schools Review Project", 1996) identified required objectives and activities:

*1. **To advocate and lobby for community driven, culturally appropriate healing services and healing centers utilizing traditional and contemporary healing methods.***

Activities:

- *Regional and national one day remembrance for residential school survivors.*
- *Memorials, put up for children who died while attending residential schools.*
- *Provide referrals for emotional (support) for survivors.*
- *(Public support for) proposed community based family healing centers.*
- *A screening process developed at community level for frontline workers.*
- *A wellness conference for our Elders.*
- *Aftercare and follow up meetings for the survivors of the residential schools.*
- *Lobby for the need of healing services/healing centers for residential schools.*

*2. **To develop in conjunction with First Nations and ensure a full range of services to victims of abuse and cultural loss, as well as for their families and communities to assist with their healing.***

Activities:

- *Ensure funding for support services as identified and required by the residential school coordinators. The funding to be provided through new funding and not through current funding initiatives*
- *To advocate for funding of culturally appropriate treatment services/programs and separate from existing funding initiatives.*
- *To advocate for funding of community and regional levels.*

*3. **To lobby and advocate for training and skill enhancement of frontline workers and other service providers working with survivors of the residential school system...***

Activities:

- *Research culturally appropriate training areas identified as necessary for working with the residential school issue. (...Including) suicide intervention methods, parenting, grieving process, handling sexual abuse disclosures, traditional teachings, critical incidents stress debriefing training and spirituality.*

*4. **To secure from the government of Canada an immediate and full apology to the First Nations of Canada for the racist and destructive intent of the residential school policy.***

Activities:

- *The Government should apologize and take full responsibility for helping churches.*
- *The (government should provide) financial resources to develop the required human resources and physical structures (healing lodges/healing centers). First nations require a more balanced system of funding... various initiatives have too many conditions and are too sporadic.*
- *Lobby supportive MPs to pass a private member's bill.*

*5. **To secure an admission of responsibility from religious organizations for their part in the indian residential school system and to support First Nations*** *fully in obtaining redress.*

Activities:

- *Advocate to churches with funding projects designed to address residential schools issues need to work in conjunction with the First Nations communities.*
- *All church officials and staff must recognize they have created an injustice and committed acts of cultural genocide through residential school system.*
- *Lobby the governments and churches to identify and allocate compensatory funding for the implementation of the recommendations outline in "Breaking the Silence".*
- *To work with the church groups to seek redress in support of First Nations.*

6. To develop in conjunction with First Nations, a compensation package for First Nations who endured abuse at the hands of the clergy and officials charged with administering the residential school policy.

Activities:

- *To lobby on behalf of the regions as requested.*
- *Provide support to the First Nations negotiations with the churches and federal government.*
- *Regional projects to carry out provincial strategy and coordinate efforts with other agencies, health, and utilize existing resources. Each region to coordinate their services with other provinces, RCMP, funding, territory and jurisdictions.*
- *Provincial government should provide resources and to priorize the issue.*
- *Political efforts to resolve portability of rights to health; complete evaluation of Therapy services.*

7. To develop in conjunction with First Nations, a compensation package for the damage done to First Nations languages and cultures by the residential school policy.

Activities:

- *Support for First Nations to obtain funds from the federal government to fund total immersion schools as requested.*

8. To research the government policy of residential schools and other pertinent areas as deemed necessary.

Activities:

- *AFN to research archives to confirm government policy of residential schools.*
- *Investigate First Nations people sent to other residential schools (St.John's, Mennonites).*
- *Each Community to research tribal areas to assist with developing response.*

9. To implement a process by which a historical record can document the abuse experienced by former residential school students.

Activities:

- *Document experiences of elders who are residential school survivors immediately.*
- *Hold a national gathering on residential schools.*
- *Begin the process of a national inquiry.*

10. To increase awareness and educate First Nations citizens and Canadian public by developing an education strategy utilizing existing resource materials.

Activities:

- *Develop and implement an education program*
- *Develop an awareness program for use by regions and First Nations.*
- *Establish a national newsletter to communicate progress of national strategy.*

11. To develop a central clearinghouse of information at AFN of available and essential resources for access by First Nations and regional residential schools projects.

Activities:

The clearinghouse will develop and maintain an inventory of:

- *Resource list of legal strategy utilized by other First Nations.*
- *Regional and national criminal cases that are active*
- *Regional and national contacts for First Nations community members to access regarding legal, healing and support aspects.*
- *Regional and national lists of elders with expertise of working with survivors of residential schools.*[14]

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[14] AFN, 1996, pp. 11-15

XII. Roland D. Chrisjohn, Sherri L. Young and Others, (The Circle Game, 1997) recommended:

The only moral response to a crime of this magnitude is that it be undone. As impossible as that is, to undertake or demand less is to assure that the injuries done will endure indefinitely.

1. We recommend a special inquiry be commissioned to investigate all aspects of Indian Residential Schooling, with legislated powers to examine any relevant documents, hear testimony, subpoena witnesses and lay charges.

2. We recommend comprehensive apologies and recognition of wrongs be offered by all the civil and ecclesiastical organisations that participated in Indian Residential Schooling. The apologies must provide the clear recognition that there can be no mitigation of their responsibility for what happened to, and no question of the nature of the abuses suffered by, Aboriginal Peoples, individually and collectively. The apologies must form part of a campaign to educate Canadian citizens at large of their role, however indirect, in these unconscionable acts.

3. We recommend the establishment of a resource archive on Indian Residential Schooling, modelled upon the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale University.

4. We recommend the fair, just, and immediate settlement of land and resource claims.

5. We recommend the fair, just, and immediate settlement of Residential School abuse claims.

6. We recommend the governments and churches establish an open-ended fund to be used by Aboriginal Nations to undertake works to reconstitute their societies.

7. We recommend the dismantling of that part of the Therapeutic State that impacts upon Aboriginal Peoples, and its replacement by institutions reflecting Aboriginal philosophies and under Aboriginal controls.

8. We recommend that those suffering the effects of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse experience in Residential School be given unrestrained access to the treatment of their choice.

9. If nothing is to be done in the way of bringing about these or similar recommendations, we ask that an open and honest declaration be made that our destruction, as Aboriginal Peoples, is official governmental policy.

Of the last recommendation, the authors note, *Hypocrisy is very thin soup; it nourisheth not, and is also monotonous. We, for two, would rather live out our days on a "level killing field" than to die, in pieces, from a disease we're all too polite to name.*[15]

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[15] Chrisjohn, (1997), pp.109-112

XIII. Laurence Norbert, ("Report on the Victim/Witness Support Service: The Grollier Hall Experience", 1998) recommended:

1. That an alternative disclosure and validation process be seriously considered instead of the present adversarial court process. This would enable people who have not disclosed under current or pending police investigations, to come forward and to begin their healing.

2. (Detailed recommendations specific to the process of survivor support within existing trial procedures)

3. Prior training of community caregivers on the aftermath of the residential school experience: e.g. the history and global impact of the residential school system; crisis intervention, supporting residential school survivors, ongoing support (networking), and group and community facilitation, to name a few. This will raise community and regional awareness of the issue and create an additional community resource.

4. That a public inquiry be convened to examine the experience of students of residential school facilities across the western NWT. This inquiry should be able to investigate situations of alleged physical, sexual, emotional and spiritual violations at residential schools, the calibre of education received by students of these facilities, and the types of treatment and healing available for residential school survivors.

The following principles and attitudes must be considered:

- *a public inquiry can cause secondary victim trauma.*
- *support services and processes must allow for the least harm to occur to inquiry witnesses.*
- *each witness should be consulted and dealt with concerning his/her support needs.*
- *the healing process of witnesses does not end with the conclusion of an inquiry.*
- *educational and awareness workshops on the residential school issue be conducted for government senior managers, professionals, front-line community caregivers and community justice committees to increase awareness, cross-cultural understanding and up-to-date knowledge; and*
- *community and regional support and referral process protocols be established for abuse victims to contact existing services, front-line workers and survivors groups.*

5. That a training and healing program be developed to integrate northern residential school *survivors as community assistants in sexual abuse counselling.*

6. *That the Nats'ejee K'eh Treatment Centre and the Tl'oondih Healing Society, in a joint effort with the Government of the Northwest Territories and residential school survivor groups, design and develop a long-term residential school aftermath treatment program for former residential school students and their families.*

7. *That the Government of the Northwest Territories increase its victim services budget for existing or future victim service programs to effectively assist with any multiple-victim sexual abuse trial.*[16]

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[16] Norbert, 1998, pp.16-18

XIV. *Survivors Tasiuqtit*, "Statement by Survivors Tasiuqtit on Historical Abuse, Assimilation Policies & Honoring All Peoples"(1998), does not contain numbered recommendations as such, but makes clear a number of strongly voiced opinions, which we hope we have paraphrased accurately here.

- *Inuit need to ensure that their special healing journeys are recognized and met. Their needs are different from the southern-based First Nations who have access to the resources more readily.* This is particularly so with regards to *cost of resources, communication and travel... and the special case of Inuit who may not be able to make presentations* (are generally under-represented and consulted).

- *The matter of intergenerational effects* and the profound impacts of forced removal of children and their subsequent abuse, *demand validation, and the presentation of options for legal or political remedies.*

- *Of extreme importance are those who have committed suicide because of their residential school childhood abuse, before making disclosures publicly*, but having *told their spouses and close friends.*

- The extent of *non-institutional abuse* perpetrated by outsiders on children in isolated northern communities also needs to be addressed.

- *Acknowledge the inability of this study* to meet the incredible task of consulting properly *with all the affected native populations on every aspect of this too sensitive subject.*

- *Inuit voices cannot be silenced, and will be heard, accepted, acknowledged, respected and recognized by all who have "civilized" ears and hearts.*[17]

XV. Four Worlds International Institute, "*Executive Summary of the SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM*". These important recommendations follow, in their original form.

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[17] Richard Immaroitok and Simeonie Kunnuk, "Statement by Survivors Tasiuqtit on Historical Abuse, Assimilation Policies and Honoring All Peoples", September 1998

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Executive Summary of the:

SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM

Given the present conditions in most Canadian First Nations, it is clear that merely tinkering with or adjusting the Canadian social security system has not, and will not, work. Aboriginal social security reform will need to begin by re-conceptualizing what social security actually means for Aboriginal people. The role of a social security system can no longer be viewed as the provision of stop-gap programs and services for a small group of disadvantaged people, but rather must be conceived of as a comprehensive approach to building well-being and prosperity for all.

When looked at in this way, the delivery of programs to and for communities (no matter how generously funded or effectively designed) can never bring "social security" to Aboriginal people. Until Aboriginal communities can recover an adequate measure of the wealth they possessed, true "social security" will continue to be an illusive goal.

Traditionally, that wealth existed in two inter-related forms:

1) a sustainable economic base (which provided food, clothing, shelter, medicines and other material needs, and

2) healthy human relationships (which provided opportunities for self-development, sustained family and community life, preserved the social and economic well-being of the people, and provided a dependable safety net for those who fell upon hard times for whatever reasons).

As the term is generally used in the context of the Aboriginal Strategic Initiatives Project, "self-sufficiency" means that people are able to meet their basic needs for well-being without having to be provided for out of the wealth controlled by others. Self-sufficiency, then, is predicated on the idea that a people have control over the resources they need and they have the capacities they require to produce their own wealth in order to meet their own needs and to participate meaningfully in regional, national or global economic activities. In other words, self-sufficiency really means prosperity and well-being for all, a goal which is synonymous with that of social security.

Getting from where communities are now to a condition in which prosperity and well-being have been "secured" will require a fundamental transformation of political, economic, social and cultural conditions and relationships both within communities and between Aboriginal communities and the rest of Canada. What is needed is a comprehensive framework for understanding what has to be transformed (which categories of life and basic relationships), and how that change process must be promoted if prosperity and well-being are to be the outcome (i.e. basic models and principles of community healing and community development). All change is not necessarily good. It is critical to have a clear vision of what we are changing into before we leap into the process.

One of the most powerful models for mapping out the dimensions involved in securing well-being and prosperity is the medicine wheel. It teaches us that...

...The mental, emotional, physical and spiritual health of the people--each and every one of the people--needs to be promoted, maintained and protected.

... Helping families become free of addictions and abuse, filled with spirit, love, caring and mutual responsibility, and able to function as a strong economic unit is a critical development challenge.

... The political and administrative, economic and environmental, spiritual and cultural, and social relationships of community life need to be transformed in such a way that they lead to well-being and prosperity.

... The political, economic, environmental, social and cultural factors in the regional, national or international context within which First Nations communities live need to be taken into account if viable development processes are to occur.

Social security reform must address all of these dimensions in a comprehensive human and community development approach. Furthermore, since all of these dimensions are inter-related, social security reform must proceed with an integrated, holistic framework, leaving behind the splintered logic of the Canadian bureaucracy which tries to separate economic development, health, education, political processes and spirituality as if they were unrelated when, in reality, success in any one area depends on success in all the others. This implies the urgent need for a new paradigm, a new way of conceptualizing "development" that is distinctly Aboriginal, and the requirement that communities proceed as if they already have the jurisdiction to re-make the world within which they live. For if we don't proceed in that way, then the unnecessary suffering and dependency will only deepen.

It is also crucial to remember that a vision of development that leads to sustainable well-being and prosperity for Aboriginal communities can never be a one-size-fits-all proposition. This means there can be no cookie-cutter recipes that will work in all communities. What is needed is guiding principles that can be applied and adapted to fit a multitude of situations. Four such principles are listed below to serve by way of example.

1. Development comes from within - Well-being and prosperity cannot be delivered to communities. It has to be grown from within people, from the very spiritual core of their beings: from within families and from within processes of civic engagement. This principle implies that to achieve social security, a massive effort of engaging ordinary Aboriginal people in collective process of healing, learning, consultation and action is required. Facilitating this process will be a key challenge facing Aboriginal leadership everywhere.

2. No Vision: no development - A vision of who we can become and what a sustainable world would be like works as a powerful magnet, drawing us to our potential. Where there is no vision, there is no development. This principle implies that the work of imagining what prosperity and well-being would actually look like, and what the path to achieve it would be in any particular community, is of paramount importance.

3. Personal and Community Development must go Hand-in-Hand - Social security reform must focus both on personal growth, healing and learning, and on the transformation of community structures, power arrangements, institutions, organizations, policies and patterns. These two dimensions are inter-related and inseparable.

4. Learning is the key that unlocks the door of change - Individuals, families, organizations, and whole communities and nations of people can learn. We have learned to live as we do now, and we can learn to do, think and live differently. This principle urges a major focus on capacity building at all levels as a primary line of action for Aboriginal social security reform.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are designed to guide social security reform processes for First Nations communities in light of the need to build self-sufficiency and to work toward prosperity and well-being in ways which are consistent with the above principles and which take into account all the dimensions of the "medicine wheel model" described above. It is important to remember, however, that Aboriginal community prosperity and well-being cannot be reduced to a few recommendations and models. We caution readers to remember that a general overview such as is provided by these recommendations is not a sufficient map for actually taking the journey of Aboriginal social security reform. This journey will require thoughtful attention to vision and to detail. And the journey will take time, probably years of time.

The recommendations have been divided into the following six categories, which can be thought of as major lines of action, as follows:

I. Developing True Economy

1. Aboriginal prosperity can never be achieved on transfer payments from government. A fundamental focus for reform needs to be on the development of a true economy that is capable of producing wealth; is sustainable in its methods and outcomes; and ensures equitable distribution to all within Aboriginal communities.

2. To achieve this, a concentrated focus on the following strategies is recommended:

   a) Increase each Nation's lands and resource base.

   b) Increase equitable access to capital and credit for micro-enterprises as well as for larger projects.

   c) Considerable investment in human development and training.

   d) Institutional development and capacity building related to managing economic processes.

   e) Emphasis on developing secondary manufacturing capacity (such as moving from harvesting trees to making furniture).

   f) Focus on multiplying the circulation of money within communities.

   g) A shift from large to small and medium size enterprises as a primary strategy with diligent attention to community economic development (CED) principles.

   h) Establish democratically operated community economic development corporations or cooperatives.

   i) Develop regional strategies for integrating local economic efforts into larger networks and markets.

3. Beyond the development of local and regional economies, a particular emphasis on strengthening international indigenous people's economic

networks to facilitate trade, economic cooperation and collaboration on projects of mutual benefit is recommended.

II. Control and Jurisdiction

1. A five-year moratorium on AFA and FTA transfer agreements because these arrangements severely limit the sovereignty of Aboriginal nations to exercise control in reforming social development programs
2. The formation of a national Aboriginal Social Development Commission to control and manage all Aboriginal social development and social security reform related funds. The intention here is to replace Indian Affairs' control of funding with an Aboriginal-controlled oversight commission empowered to administer funds in ways that allow for the flexibility and creativity that is needed for social security reform to be successful.

III. Key Program Features for Reform

1. A shift from individual entitlement to community well-being, which views social assistance as just one part of a community healing and development effort. This would entail re-focusing programs toward strengthening community capacity and transforming community conditions.
2. A shift toward emphasizing community responsibility for the welfare of its members (and away from government as the provider and caretaker). This would require developing the will, the capacity and the mechanisms within communities for citizen involvement, partnership building with government, program ownership, and accountability.
3. Redefining "work" in Aboriginal terms to include all useful service to the community. The use of social assistance and other transfer dollars to build up this type of "social economy" develops the social capital of the community (i.e. the trust, empowerment levels, networks, leadership capacity, confidence, work ethic, mutual support mechanisms, etc.).
4. Focus programs on the root causes of poverty and dependency rather than on the symptoms.
5. A major investment in "capacity building" is required, which includes appropriate healing, education and training for individuals, as well as organizational learning and institutional development.

IV. Fostering People's Empowerment and Participation

1. The establishment of local human and community development societies as a mechanism for healing and change within the community that operates at arm's length from government. These societies would be non-partisan promoters of the community healing and development process empowered to receive funds and to mount programs for that purpose. They would provide vehicles through which individuals could learn, heal and practice democratic skills and processes in pursuit of development goals.
2. A specific focus on developing community capacity for consultation processes, making and keeping collective commitment, conflict resolution, as well as community development vision, planning and action.
3. Leadership development to train Aboriginal political and program leaders in participatory development approaches.
4. The development and promotion of an Aboriginal Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities which incorporates the right to basic human well-being (and the healing needed to get there), as well as the responsibilities of both individuals and communities in developing and maintaining well-being. The *Charter* would serve as a standard against which communities could measure their progress, as well as a consciousness-raising tool.

V. Healing

1. Establish and develop healing centers that expand the role now played by treatment centers to include a community outreach and wellness focus, mobile treatment programs, and specialized programs for youth, women, elders, victims of abuse, and leaders.
2. The development and promotion of an Aboriginal Healing Accord - a kind of pact or treaty that sets goals, strategies and a code of conduct relative to the realities and needs of community healing. All who sign the Accord would thereby commit themselves to working for its provisions in their own lives and communities.
3. The establishment on an Aboriginal Community Healing Fund (contributed to by government, the private sector, or any group wishing

to make reparations related to Aboriginal healing) to be operated as a foundation at arms length from government and controlled by Aboriginal people. Access to the fund should be restricted to those communities and groups that have agreed to the terms and conditions of the Aboriginal Healing Accord. Special programs under this fund would focus on the needs of women and prison inmates.

VI. Strategies for Facilitating and Supporting the Reform Process

1. Local or regional Human and Community Development Technical Assistance and Capacity Building Teams to serve as coaches and mentors to community programs and voluntary groups struggling to shift community patterns toward wellness 2. Regional Aboriginal Leadership Academies for strengthening the capacity of community leaders (political, program and voluntary leaders) relative to healing and community development.

2. A "Virtual College" of Human and Community Development (a post-secondary learning program without walls to tailor-make learning programs to community capacity-building needs.)

Appendix 2

Notes on the following Residential Schools List

In spite of repeated requests, it was not within our mandate or ability to accurately document the schools themselves, names, dates, locations, numbers and nations of students.

We have recorded here such information as we encountered it; depending on the source however, much of the published information appears unclear, and highly contradictory. Our chart is FAR from complete, but in amalgamating many sources, presents a longer record than any other we know of.

In many instances we simply ran across a reference to a school location or name, and deduced that a school was operating at that particular time; we infer that it opened before or closed after that date. There are several cases where we've been unable to locate or match particular school names and places. We listed affected Nations and reserves only where they were noted in a source text.

We have not footnoted or described our cross-referencing process, as it is simply too complex and lengthy a project — and only a sideline in this particular research. Rather we leave this outline, and hope it will be of assistance to those pursuing further historical research.

Residential Schools Identified, by Province

LOCATION	SCHOOL NAME	DENOMINATION	OPENED	CLOSED	# STUDENTS
BRITISH COLUMBIA					
Ahousat	Ahousat IRS	Presbyterian	1904	1939	
Alert Bay	St. Michael's	Anglican	1929	1975	
	Alert Bay Girls Home	Anglican	1888	1905	
Cache Creek			bef. 1870		
Chilliwack/Sardis	Coqualeetza Institute	Methodist	1890	1941	
Cranbrook	St. Eugene's	Catholic	1890	1970	
Fraser Lake	Lejac	Catholic	1910	1976	
Kamloops	Kamloops IRS	Catholic	1893	1978	
NATIONS/RESERVES: Secwepemc, Neskonlith, Chilcotin bands, Nicola Valley, Lillooett, Bonaparte, Skeetchestn, Kamloops, Adams Lake, Chase, Chu Chua					
Kitamaat	Elizabeth Long Memorial	Methodist	1922		
Kuper Isl. (Chemainus)	Kuper Island	Catholic	1890	1970	
Lower Post	Lower Post	Catholic	1951	1975	
Lytton	St. George's	Anglican	1901	1979	
Metakatla	Industrial School	Anglican/Meth	~1857	1908	
Note: became industrial school in 1885					
Mission	St. Mary's	Catholic	1868	1984	42 in 1890
Nass River	Greenville Mission (Boys)	Methodist	~1890		
North Vancouver	St. Francis/Squamish	Catholic	1898	1959	
Port Alberni	Alberni IRS	Presb/United	1920	1973	~300
Port Simpson	Home for Indian Girls	Methodist	bef. 1879		
	Boys Home	Methodist	1890	1920s	
Sechelt	Sechelt	Catholic	1922	1975	

Residential Schools Identified, by Province

LOCATION	SCHOOL NAME	DENOMINATION	OPENED	CLOSED	# STUDENTS
Tofino	Christie Indust./Kakawis	Catholic	1900	1973	
Tofino	New Christie		1974	1983	
William's Lake	St. Joseph's Industrial	Catholic	bef. 1876	1981	
NATIONS/RESERVES: Secwepemc, Cariboo communities; Nicola Valley					
Yale	All Hallows	Anglican	1889	1918	
ALBERTA					
Assumption (?)					
Blood Reserve		Catholic	bef.1900?		
Blood Reserve	St. Paul's School	Anglican	bef. 1916		
Brocket	Peigan School	Catholic	bef. 1929		
Calgary area	Sarcee School	Catholic	~1890	~1920	
Notes: closed due to TB; reopened as a TB sanatorium in 1930					
Cardston	St. Mary's	Anglican/RC	bef. 1959		
Cluny		Catholic			
Crowfoot		Catholic	bef. 1931		
Desmarais					
Dunbow (n. High River)	St. Joseph's	Catholic	1889	1966	~6 in 1880
NATIONS/RESERVES: Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Cree; became High River Industrial School.					
Edmonton	Edmonton Industrial Sch.	Methodist	bef. 1931	aft. 1960	
Hobbema	Ermineskin IRS	Catholic	bef. 1930		
Fort Chipewyan		Catholic			
Fort Vermillion		Catholic	bef. 1931		
	Grouard	Catholic			
	Holy Angels	Catholic	bef. 1931		
	Joussard	Catholic	bef. 1941		

Residential Schools Identified, by Province

LOCATION	SCHOOL NAME	DENOMINATION	OPENED	CLOSED	# STUDENTS
Lac La Biche		Catholic	bef. 1884		
Lake Athabasca		Catholic	bef. 1884		
Lesser Slave Lake		Anglican	bef. 1931		
Lesser Slave Lake		Catholic			
	Notre Dame				
Old Suns Reserve	Old Suns	Anglican	1890s		
Red Deer	Red Deer Industrial Sch.	Methodist	1893		
	Sacred Heart	Catholic	bef. 1931		
St. Albert		Catholic	~1884		
	St. Bernard	Catholic	bef. 1931		
	St. Bruno	Catholic	bef. 1931		
	St. Cyprian	Anglican	bef. 1931		
St. Paul	Blue Quills	Catholic	1931	1970	
Stoney Reserve	Morley	Methodist	bef. 1931		
Sturgeon Lake		Catholic	bef. 1931		
Wabasca		Catholic	bef. 1931		
Whitefish Lake		Anglican	bef. 1927		
SASKATCHEWAN					
Battleford	Industrial School	Anglican	1883	1914	30 in 1883; 80 in 1891
NATIONS/RESERVES: P.A. District, Poundmaker Reserve, Ahtankakoop, Mistawasis, John Smith, Eagle Hills, Battleford, James Smith, Starblanket					
Notes: boys only til 1885					
Beauval	Beauval	Catholic	bef. 1931		
Note: transferred to Meadow Lake Tribal Council in 1983					
Cote Reserve	Crowstand	Presbyterian	1880s		
	Cowesses	Catholic	bef. 1931		

Residential Schools Identified, by Province

LOCATION	SCHOOL NAME	DENOMINATION	OPENED	CLOSED	# STUDENTS
Delmas	Thunderchild	Catholic	bef. 1931	1948	
Notes: burned down					
Duck Lake	St. Michael's	Catholic	1894		
NATIONS/RESERVES: Cree, Ojibway, Dakota, Chipewyan					
Gordon's Reserve	Gordons IRS	Anglican	bef. 1931	aft. 1984	
Note: closed temporarily 1949 for water shortage, students transferred to PAIRS					
Ile a la Cross		Catholic	bef. 1884		
Kamsack	St. Philip's	Catholic	1903		
Lac La Ronge	Lac L Ronge School	Catholic	1907	1947	less than 100
Notes: burned down in 1947, moved to All Saint's in Pr. Albert army barracks; legal cap 100.					
Lestock	Lestock School	Catholic	~1883	aft. 1965	
Marieval		Catholic			
Muscowequan Res/ Poorman Res.		Catholic	bef. 1931		
Onion Lake	IRS	Catholic	1907	1943	116 in 1943
Notes: burned down in 1943; children moved to St. Alban's in Prince Albert					
Prince Albert	Mission School	Presbyterian	1867	1881	5 - 40
Prince Albert	Emmanuel College	Anglican	1879	1908	~11 - 30
Notes: became residential in 1890					
(from Lac La Ronge)	All Saints	Catholic	1948	1951	120 - 314
(from Onion Lake)	St. Alban's	Anglican (CofE)	1944	1951	155 in 1944
NATIONS/RESERVES: James Smith, Battleford, Onion Lake, Carlton, Saddle Lake, Duck Lake					
Prince Albert	Indian Residential School	Anglican	1951	1969	300 - 500
Notes: Amalgamation of St. Alban's and All Saints; legal capacity was 300					
	P.A. Student Residence	gov't	1970	1974	
Notes: transferred to Wahpeton Band in '74					
NATIONS/RESERVES: White Bear, The Pas, Mistawasis, Mosquito-Grizzly Bear Head, Red Pheasant, Gordon's, Shoal Lake, Cote, Aklavik, Peepeekisis, James Smith, Moosomin, Little Pie, Sweet Grass, Key, Lac La Ronge, Sturgeon Lake, Churchill, John Smith, Peter Ballantyne, Ochapowace, Red Earth, White Caps, Sandy Lake					
Qu'Appelle	Industrial School/Lebret	Catholic	1884	present	
Notes: now under First nations control					
Regina	Industrial School	Presbyterian	1895	aft. 1930	

Residential Schools Identified, by Province

LOCATION	SCHOOL NAME	DENOMINATION	OPENED	CLOSED	# STUDENTS
Regina	File Hills Academy	Presbyterian	~1889	aft. 1949	
Round Lake	Round Lake School	Presbyterian	1918	aft. 1929	
Round Lake		Catholic	1840		
MANITOBA					
Birtle		Presbyterian	bef. 1890		
Birtle		Methodist/United			
Birtle		Catholic			
Brandon	Brandon Industrial	Methodist	bef. 1903		~170
Camperville		Catholic			
Notes: students transferred to Assiniboia (Winnipeg) on closing					
Churchill	Vocational Centre				
NATIONS/RESERVES: North & South Baffin, Keewatin,					
Cross Lake	St. Joseph's	Catholic		1930	
Notes: burned down					
Dog Creek					
Elkhorn	Elkhorn Institute	Anglican	bef. 1888		
Fort Alex/(Sandy Bay?)		Catholic	bef. 1931		
Fort Pelly					
	Guy Hill				
MacKay		Anglican	bef. 1914		
Middlechurch		Anglican	bef. 1893		
Montreal Lake					
Norway House	Norway House School	Meth/United	bef. 1931	aft. 1950	
Norway House		Catholic			
	Notre Dame				

Residential Schools Identified, by Province

LOCATION	SCHOOL NAME	DENOMINATION	OPENED	CLOSED	# STUDENTS
Pine Creek		Catholic	bef. 1930		
Portage La Prairie		Presbyterian	1886	1958	21 in 1895
	Red River Mission	Anglican	1820	1833	10 in 1820
NATIONS/RESERVES: Plains Cree, Swampy Cree, Assiniboine, Chipewyan					
Selkirk	Rupert's Land Industrial	Anglican	bef. 1891		
St. Boniface	St. Boniface Industrial	Catholic	bef. 1881		
The Pas		Catholic			
The Pas	The Pas Anglican School	Anglican	bef. 1922		
Waterhen					
Winnipeg	Assiniboia Hostel	Catholic	bef. 1931		
NATIONS/RESERVES: Pine Falls, Fort Alexander, The Pas, Camperville					
ONTARIO					
Alderville	Boarding School	Methodist	1838		
Alnwick	Industrial School		1842		
Brantford	Mohawk Institute	Anglican	1834	1970	
NATIONS/RESERVES: New Credit, Nawash, Oneida, Mistassini, Scugog, Chippewa, Tuscarora, Moraviatown, Parry Island, Mud Lake, Walpole Island, Oneida, Upper Mohawk, Lower Mohawk, Muncey, Waswanipi, Ft William, Long Lake, St. Regis, Kettle Point, Christian Island, North Seneca, Deer Lake, Bay of Quinte, Upper Cayuga, Lower Cayuga, Trout Lake, Gibson					
Chapleau	St. John's IRS	Anglican	bef. 1926		
NATIONS/RESERVES: Cree, Ojibway, James Bay					
Fort Albany	St. Ann's	Catholic	bef. 1908		
Fort Frances		Catholic	bef. 1925		
NATIONS/RESERVES: Couchiching					
Grape Island (Quinte)	Boarding School for Girls	Methodist	1828		4 in 1828
Kenora	St. Mary's School	Catholic	bef. 1931		
(Anishnabek)	McIntosh	Catholic	bef. 1931		

Residential Schools Identified, by Province

LOCATION	SCHOOL NAME	DENOMINATION	OPENED	CLOSED	# STUDENTS
Mimico	Victoria School for Boys		1887		
Moose Factory		Anglican	bef. 1930		1944 = 35
Moosoonee					
Muncey	Mount Elgin	United	1850	1946	
NATIONS/RESERVES: Walpole Island, Oneida, Chippewa, Gibson, Saugeen, Caughnawaga, Kettle Point, Stony Point, Christian Island, Newash, Caldwell, Six Nations, Sarnia, Moraviatown, Cape Croker, Rama Muncey, New Credit					
Rice Lake			~1830		
Sault Ste. Marie	Shingwauk Institute	Anglican	1873	1971	
Shoal Lake	Shoal Lake/Cecelia Jeffre	Presbyterian	bef. 1923		
Note: became Cecelia Jeffrey in Kenora					
Sioux Lookout	Pelican Lake	Anglican	bef. 1931	aft. 1960	
NATIONS/RESERVES: Garden River, Walpole Island					
Spanish	St. Peter Claver's Ind.		1929	1958	
Spanish	St. Joseph's Girl's Sch.	Catholic		1958	
NATIONS/RESERVES: Akwesasne, Kahnawake, Kanesatake, Kettle Point					
	St. Margaret's				
Thunder Bay (Ft Wlm)		Catholic	bef. 1931		
Wikwemikong	Industrial	Catholic	1850	1911	
Note: became industrial in 1887. NATIONS/RESERVES: Ojibway, Akwesasne, Kahnawake					
QUEBEC					
Amos		Catholic			
Chisasipi (Ft. George)	Ft. George RC School	Catholic	bef. 1939	aft. 1956	
Chisasipi		Anglican			
Great Whale	Federal Day (hostel)	Anglican			
La Tuque	Hostel	Catholic	1956		
Montreal	Kateri Tecakwitha				

Residential Schools Identified, by Province

LOCATION	SCHOOL NAME	DENOMINATION	OPENED	CLOSED	# STUDENTS
	Kahnawake Residence?				
Pointe Bleue	Pensionate Indienne du PB	Catholic	17thC?		
Sept Iles		Catholic		aft. 1959	
ATLANTIC					
Shubenacadie, N.S.	Shubenacadie IRS	Catholic	1929	1967	~200, '30-40s
NATIONS/RESERVES: Mi'kmaw, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Cambridge, Pictou Landing, Antigonish, Indian Brook, PEI					
YUKON, NWT, NUNAVUT					
Carcross, YK	Chooutla School	Anglican	1900	aft.1960	max. 40
Dawson City, YK	St. Paul's Hostel	Anglican	1920s		
Forty Mile	Boarding School	Anglican	1921		
Note: Moved to Carcross					
Rampart Landing, YK	Rampart House	Anglican	bef. 1925		
Whitehorse, YK	Baptist Mission Hostel	Baptist	~1945		
Whitehorse	Courdet Hall	Catholic			
Aklavik, NWT		Anglican	bef. 1930		
Aklavik, NWT		Catholic	bef. 1931		
Note: Moved to Inuvik					
Chesterfield Inlet, NT	Joseph Bernier/Turquetil	Catholic	1950		463
REGIONS: Baffin, Keewatin					
Coppermine, NT					
Fort McPherson, NWT		Anglican	bef. 1920		
Fort Providence, NWT	Providence Mission	Catholic	1867		
Fort Resolution, NWT		Catholic	1867		
Fort Simpson, NWT		Anglican	bef. 1920		
Fort Smith, NWT					

Residential Schools Identified, by Province

LOCATION	SCHOOL NAME	DENOMINATION	OPENED	CLOSED	# STUDENTS
Hay River, NWT		Anglican	bef. 1920		
Inuvik, NWT	Grolier Hall		1959	1996	
COMMUNITIES: Inuvik, Aklavik, Tsiigehtchic, Colville Lake, Ft. Good Hope, Norman Wells, Ft. Norman...					
	Stringer Hall				
Yellowknife, NWT	Akaitcho Hall				

Appendix 3

Testimony before the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

Breakdown of themes and needs

RCAP SURVIVOR TESTIMONY

PLACE	DATE	SPEAKER	MAIN THEMES/ IMPACTS	NEEDS IDENTIFIED
Winnipeg	920421	George Erasmus	Res. Schools should never have happened	
		Mary Sillett	Loss of language. We are survivors, have learned to accept life's difficulties and celebrate	
		Phil Fontaine	Abuse. Social effects: violence, domestic violence, jails, acting out oppression, intergenerational	Apology; need to talk, for disclosure, a public record
	920422	Eileen Courchesne	Role of women destroyed, learned subservience	
		Iris Lauzon	loss of language	
Charlottetown	920505	John Joe Sark	Abuse	
Eskasoni	920506	Blair Paul	Punished for practicing language, culture and beliefs	
		Will Basque	strength of survivors	
		Alex Christmas	abuse	compensation
		Alex Denny	loss of culture, generations of knowledge	
		Charles J. Bernard Jr	Human rights issues, treatment and cruelty	
		Viola Robinson	responses can't wait too long; high priority	
		Albert Marshall	loss of culture and traditions	
Inuvik	920505	Bonita Chlow	loss of the generations; loss of skills in the young	
Ft MacPherson	920507	Eileen Koe	loss of language	
The Pas	920520	Kathy Martin	Family violence and sexual abuse continues today	comp. for problems and devastating experience
Pt Alberni	920520	Nelson Keitlah	poor education	
		Charlie Cootes	2/3 of last generation to attend have not survived: (violence, addictions, suicide, accidents). Lasting effects; can only be put behind when damage to people and families is repaired. Lost culture.	Apology is not enough. Compensation: $2M/yr for Nuu-chah-nulth. Funds and resources for teaching, schools, language; inform the larger society.
		Violet Mundy		
		Tim Paul	Problems still affect us	need mental health services
		Charlie Thompson	Physical, sexual, emotional abuse; lack of parents	
		Jackie Adams	We are survivors	
		Bunt Cranmer		
Big Cove, NB	920520	Clifton Simon	loss of language	compensation
Esquimault	920521	Andrew Thomas	A lot of damage	Need to talk & go through long healing process
Victoria	920522	John Elliot	loss of language, shame and loss of pride	
		Barbara Becker	Generational impact through extended families continues.	

RCAP SURVIVOR TESTIMONY

PLACE	DATE	SPEAKER	MAIN THEMES/ IMPACTS	NEEDS IDENTIFIED
		Norman Evans	Silence of the elders; some can't talk about it.	
		Wally Samuel		
		Mavis Gillie	Strength in survival	Cdn public needs to know abt disastrous effects More funds to regain and retain culture
Wahpeton, SK	920526	Calvin McArthur	Loss of language, culture, values in life	Needs to be dealt with and soon. Needs to come out and be expressed.
		George Erasmus	Every community has talked about the impacts	
Teslin, YK	920526	Eric Morris	Breaking of family ties, loss of culture and traditions, oral history, stories and legends. Intergenerational effects, especially violence.	Lack of resources to cope with the effects, esp. as villages become alcohol and drug free.
		Viola Robinson	There isn't a community where residential school hasn't been brought up as a contributor to the hurt, pain and dysfunction in families today.	Need to do something immediately. Need a public inquiry.
Prince Albert	920527	Jessie Teasley	People are in prison because they lost their culture and traditions	
		Ken Noskiye	Abusive dysfunctional families are related to residential schools. Lack of family ties.	
		Hugh Bolton	Product of res. school system, reform school system, provincial system, ending up in federal system.	
LaRonge, SK	920528	Lillian Sanderson	Social issues from family violence, child abuse, drugs, alcohol, suicide, sexual abuse, are a result of the boarding schools and the churches.	
		Winston McKay	We are survivors. Not saying social problems never existed before, but they can be linked to the residential schools and colonization of Aboriginal people.	
Pangnirtung NT	920528	Saqiasi Sauluapik	Had to learn english; Inuktitut only taught with religion	
Ft. Simpson	920526	Ethel Lamothe	Taken to school at 4-1/2, spoke no english; could not talk to family when she went home. Years of being told our ways were evil, frightened of own spirituality, ways of the devil and satan; still hard to practice Dene ways today.	
		Kerry Hardisty	Children taken away; couldn't speak our language; lost culture	
Moose Factory	920609	George Erasmus	Traditionally women had important role as life givers;	

RCAP SURVIVOR TESTIMONY

PLACE	DATE	SPEAKER	MAIN THEMES/ IMPACTS	NEEDS IDENTIFIED
			res. school destroyed this role, taught that men should be the boss and women inferior.	
Lac La Biche	920609	Joe Blyan	It's better now, families get involved in schools and family programs.	
Waswanipi	920609	Peter Gull	By 1960's most of the schoolage pop. was attending res. school somewhere. Have been some changes; in educ, econ. dev., health, trapping, native people now have larger say.	
		Lily Sutherland	No parenting models. Learned anger.	Need parenting skills.
		Alain Vachon	Lack of education for employment	
Hobbema	920610	Carol Wildcat	survivors of physical, sexual and mental abuse	
		Wilson Okeymaw	Abuse: children beaten every day. Alcoholism stems from residential school.	
Moosoonee	920610	Wilbert Wesley	loss of language	
Edmonton	920611	Edward Morin	Didn't see parents for 10 months. Trucked to St.Albert	
		Maggie Hodgson	State of hopelessness that evolved from residential schools and the impact of outlawing of ceremony.	
S.Ste Marie	920611	Carole Gauthier	Sexual abuse and intergenerational effects	
		Marvin Assinewai	Loss of your children for 10 months while they are supposed to be receiving a valuable gift of education	Has to be healing, for offenders as well.
Ft. Chipewan	920618	Emile Trip-de-Roche	Loss of language; cruelty	
Happy Valley	920616	Mrs. Millicent Loder	Was picked up and taken away by boat as a little girl	should be some type of assistance provided
		Mrs. Beatrice Watts	One positive thing was the written form of the Inuktitut language and translation work done by the churches	
Ft. McMurray	920616	Nancy Scanie	Loss of language, forced to speak english. Poverty for those on reserve and even worse for those off.	Nobody ever apologized.
Kispiox, BC	920616	Matt Vickers	Personal, family and community dysfunction with its roots in the res. schools. Forced to use english. Violent abuse of students, degrading of lang. and culture. Shameless abusive behavior by teachers, priests, politicians. Self-destructive behavior patterns as a consequence of res. school experience in families, extended families; intergenerational effects. Unresolved, unreconciled social issues.	
		Marvin Sampson	Sexual abuse, dysfunctional families, family breakdowns.	Fly-in service,15 minutes with psychologist in

RCAP SURVIVOR TESTIMONY

PLACE	DATE	SPEAKER	MAIN THEMES/ IMPACTS	NEEDS IDENTIFIED
		Brian Williams	Goals of assimilations and genocide through laws, creation of reserves, res. schools. Inadequate education for employmt.	
		Lorraine Dennis	We are all survivors. Widespread impact, dysfuntional families, intergenerational impact; parents, grandpar & great grandparents all ashamed of being Indians.	Healing is a really big factor.
		Alice Kruta	Schools created a lot of shame; survivors understand this and it is not an excuse any more.	
Stoney Creek	920618	George Erasmus	Recognize tremendous damage to culture, language, and all the structures that have been imposed and impacted on Aboriginal culture; wanting to know what's going to be done about it.	
		Bertha Wilson	Recognize terrible aftermath and consequences of res. schools; need to focus ahead on what can be done.	
		Peter Quaw	Children were taught ways of non-aboriginals; denied their own language; illegality of culture; conspiracy to eliminate our spirituality and turn us into europeans.	
		Leonard Thomas	School was built on land they occupied, but never did get access to that land.	
		Bob Gill	Perpetual denial of right to practice and maintain First Nations culture; unrelenting weight of govt on First Nations to assimilate; residential schools the most glaring example. Children callously severed from family and cultural values.	
Toronto	920625	John Kim Bell	Language outlawed; reclaiming of culture often happens through art which has survived the imposition of new ways	
		Ron George	Res. Schools as an example of all the ways that Aboriginal people were treated to remove their status of being who they were.	
	920625	Catherine Brooks	The range of oppression of our people - Ind Act, res. schools, injudicious zealousness of child welfare. Children were moved sometimes 500-1000 miles from home at age 5; police assisted, parents who resisted sometimes jailed. Not allowed to speak their language or talk to siblings. Abuse, violence, and western ideas on the roles of men and women,	

RCAP SURVIVOR TESTIMONY

PLACE	DATE	SPEAKER	MAIN THEMES/ IMPACTS	NEEDS IDENTIFIED
			how equality was changed. Anduhyaun's prog for women survivors of child sexual abuse.	
Saskatoon	921027	Cindy Sparvier	Métis suffered just as much as Indian people. Lots of Métis have parents who attended.	
		Emile Bell	Breach of treaties, didn't provide education; assault on lang, identity, values, the family unit; intergenerational damage. Close to 1M have gone thru res. schools. All sorts of atrocities, HR violations committed, we are now suffering bec of this, but are now beginning to talk. So many problems in so many areas; terrible abuse. Social problems as a result. People are beginning to come forward.	Churches have to compensate individual people for some of the things they've done. Need resources, land, buildings, where people can go to address the problems that came as a result. Parenting skills; trying to teach children Indian values, languages, create pride in children. Hold healing circles for people to begin to talk. Govt shud be put in a lot of money as they're responsible. RCMP also have to be accountable since they were involved in enforcing those laws, apprehending, abducting.
		Joan Lavallee	agrees with above	
		Vicky Wilson	Dysfunctional families created. Have healing circles in some communities. Women and children flocking to cities because things are not happening at home.	
	921028	Clem Chartier	Lack of mention of Méttis concerns in loss of language, culture, identity through residentail schools.	
Thunder Bay	921027	Paul Nadjiwan		Need to educate people to understand what happened when they went to residential school.
		Moffat Makuto	Break up of families, removal from parental care, basic skills like parenting are non-existent; young people suffer the effects	
		Bert Sellick	Numbers of young parents from residential schools are concerned about parenting.	
		Eli Mandamin	Damages inflicted on First nations culture by everything from epidemics to res. schools has brought Aboriginal people to a point where it is difficult to survive. But cultural resurgence is coming back, spiritual ceremonies are being reborn; we will have much to give the non-	

RCAP SURVIVOR TESTIMONY

PLACE	DATE	SPEAKER	MAIN THEMES/ IMPACTS	NEEDS IDENTIFIED
			Aboriginal society as a result.	
Kenora	921028	Mary Sillett	What action is necessary to set the record straight with respect to residential schools?	
		Richard Kelly	Alienation of generations who went to res. schools	
Ft.AlexanderM	921029	Phil Fontaine		Need for open dialogue, particularly those who attended and churches who ran the schools
		Gilbert Abraham	Taken to school at 3; abuse, despair, and suffering	
		Jerry Fontaine	How do we break the cycle?	Poss. a healing ctr; has heard of compensation
		Patrick Bruyere	Product of the boarding school	
		Elmer Courchene	Pain of the angry bitter experiences	
		Eva Courchene	Cycle that started in late 1800s still exists today; not many children can hug their parents and say I love you; it's generational. Most damaging, we were told we were worth less, not equal to white people, pounded into grandparents as little children.	
		Jerry Fontaine		
		Mary Sillett		Need to get on with the task, deal with immed.
N.Battleford	921029	George Erasmus	Impossible to go to res. school and feel good about your language or culture.	Diff. reserves, comm's, may need diff. sol'ns
Cranbrook	921103	Denise Birdstone	Parents don't support children's education because they didn't have any control over their education, didn't have any ownership over their children & this continues today.	
		Sophie Pierre	cultural rape suffered by thousands; source of pain today.	
Ft.AlexanderM	921020	Jill Henderson	Horrendous experience; absence of treatment and counselling stories of mother and grandparents not allowed to speak their language; stripped of language and dignity, but language never forgot so it's lowly coming back giving pride and dignity again.	
		Elmer Courchene	Break up of families, community and self	
		Connie Eyolfson	native spirituality fills the spiritual vacuum of people traumatized by residential schools; place for learning culture and spirituality (Strong Earth Woman Lodge)	
		Kenneth Emberley		Need to examine and complete records on the

RCAP SURVIVOR TESTIMONY

PLACE	DATE	SPEAKER	MAIN THEMES/ IMPACTS	NEEDS IDENTIFIED
				kidnapping of children, how far they were removed, cost of kidnapping and destroying them, lack of love & kindness, resulting drunkenness, violence and suicide.
Merritt	921105	Mandy Na'Zinek Jimmy	Effects of institutional experience on language and culture, those losses.	
Toronto	921102	Ken Richard	Dealing with 3rd generation beyond the residential schools in Fam & Children's Svcs; devel. sexual abuse recovery program using traditional healers and teachers to work with women in F&CS. (Mook'am Project)	
		Susan Eng		Need to discuss residential schools and understand why they happened.
	921103	Colleen Wassegijig	intergenerational effects, internalization of impacts, effects, emotions and attitudes in those who experienced the residential schools. Many in denial.	Need people in the communities to start dealing with it.
Timmins	921105	Andrew Wesley	Ran healing progs in Fort Albany for people who went through residential schools.	
		Lindberg Louttit	abuse, molestation and suicide	
		Ed Metatawabin	Assimilation, parenting skills, intergenerational problems.	Parenting skills and counselling
		Peter Sackeney	Forced to learn French.	

Appendix 4

Government paper warns of risks of apologizing for residential schools

Wendy Cox, July 27, 1998 from Ottawa Citizen

OTTAWA (CP) - Government officials were urged two years ago to provide a compensation package to aboriginal people who suffered in residential schools as an attempt to control the potentially explosive costs of lawsuits, an internal document shows. The report, stamped Secret and obtained by The Canadian Press, compares the pros and cons of forcing claimants to go to court with offering financial redress to victims. It concludes that in the long run, compensation would be cheaper.

"The number of individual claims as well as any negative implications for the federal government in defending such actions (lawsuits) would likely be minimized if a government policy, including some form of redress package, were adapted," says the 20-page report. The document also warns against using the word "apology," preferring instead "an acknowledgment or expression of regret." "It could be worded in such a fashion so as to not lay blame on anyone."

Government officials confirmed the report, which is titled simply Residential Schools Discussion Paper, was written in late 1995 or early 1996 for Ron Irwin, then the minister of Indian Affairs. It may also have been prepared for the Justice Department. The report never reached current Indian Affairs Minister Jane Stewart and the advice in it never formed the basis for actions she later took, officials say. Earlier this year, Stewart issued a Statement of Reconciliation, saying the government was "deeply sorry" for those who suffered the "tragedy" of physical and sexual abuse at the schools.

The statement also included a $350-million healing fund. "It was critical that the apology meant something to us," said Shawn Tupper, spokesman for the minister on the residential schools file. "We can point to (the $350-million healing fund) and say weíre actually doing something substantive to back it up." The statement has been accepted by national Chief Phil Fontaine, however other native leaders said at the time that it wasn't good enough. But critics who have read the 1996 document say the federal government has followed the advice to the letter. They say it's evidence the statement is not an apology at all but merely an attempt to control costs. Ovide Mercredi, a former national chief, said the document shows "the minister didnít follow her heart or her sense of justice." "She followed legal advice and the advice was to reduce legal liability at all costs and the government measure is designed to do that." Fontaine was unavailable for comment.

The document advises that forcing former students to take the government to court would ensure they would have to prove their claims. As an added advantage, it would also limit lawsuits, the report states.

<<<<<<< "There is a general disinclination by persons who have suffered abuse to testify on such a personal and painful matter in a public and

adversarial forum," the report says. >>>>>>>>>>>>>

"A litigation approach may well keep the number of claimants down to a minimum."

However, going to court would cost the government dearly in money and in bad press, the report concludes. The author, who is unnamed, recommends a compensation package instead. Since the report was written, thousands of former students have joined class action suits or have filed individual lawsuits against the federal government. A landmark B.C. court ruling last month declared for the first time that both the federal government and the United Church are legally liable for widespread sexual and physical abuse at a Port Alberni, B.C., school and ordered them to compensate about 30 former students. A figure for the compensation has not yet been decided. The mounting lawsuits are anticipated in the 1996 report, but the document also cautions that apologizing is dangerous territory.

"Whatever it is called, the department will want to ensure that the statement cannot subsequently be used to establish a cause of action against the Crown in any particular individual cause," it states. "It would appear that this government is committed to looking ahead and in these tough economic times, it would not want to be involved in anything that is too expensive or linked to the past." Tupper said the departmentís thinking has evolved since the report. When asked at a news conference last January if the statement of reconciliation was an apology, Stewart responded yes. "In our view, the statement of reconciliation is not an acknowledgment of guilt in a court of law," Tupper said. It is an acknowledgment of a historic policy and the negative impacts of that policy and it is a commitment to do something about it."

However, John McKiggan, a lawyer for about 800 former students at the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School in Nova Scotia, said the internal document reveals the federal governmentís strategy. "There is an amazing similarity between the present and suggestions made in the paper," he said. "The statement of reconciliation does not apologize for government actions. It recognizes the pain. It doesn't admit responsibility for that pain." © The Canadian Press, 1998

Even before the above story broke, some people we contacted were skeptical about research on redress commissioned by the Justice Department. First Nations media in particular, had "heard rumours" that the government was looking for the cheapest way out of a complex and inevitably expensive problem.

We have been adamant that our research is in no way intended to be part of such a plan, nor do we believe this is the intention of the Law Commission. But the existence of the above report does cause problems and speculation that will only be effectively answered by significant action.

Appendix 5

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THE FOUR WORLDS RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL HEALING PROGRAM

The Challenge

As generations of Aboriginal children returned from residential schools, many brought back a burden of shame and trauma from the various abuses they experienced that was to impact their family and community life for generations to come. For years, many of these people have tried to forget, and to shove their hurt feelings into the background so they could get on with everyday life. The fact is, however, that many of the difficulties our communities are experiencing today have their roots, at least partially, in the residential school experience. The legacy of residential schools, which still impacts many Aboriginal communities today, includes the following:

- Loss of language and destruction of culture
- inter-generational sexual abuse
- Chronic addictions
- Old grudges and long-standing feuds
- Interpersonal violence
- Broken families
- Personal rage, shame and dysfunction
- Spiritual and cultural shame
- Mistrust of leadership and authority
- Political infighting and undermining
- Dependency thinking
- Weak or broken bonds of love, trust and caring
- Lack of initiative and entrepreneurial spirit
- The physical abuse of children and other vulnerable people

The Program

The Four Worlds Residential School Healing Program is designed to support, train and coach Aboriginal communities through the process of developing an effective program for getting to the bottom of what happened in residential schools, for healing the hurts that occurred there, and for moving on to rebuild personal, family and community life. The Residential School Healing Program consists of a series of four (4) training and coaching sessions involving community staff and community members.

Session I - Assessment

In this session, in-depth consultation occurs to uncover what has happened in the schools and afterwards, what results occurred in the lives of the people, and what processes and legal measures may be needed to support the healing and change that is required. A detailed documentation of this process is done by Four Worlds staff. Between Sessions I and II, the written findings of the assessment process would be circulated to all community members for their review and discussion. It is very important that everyone who wants input into the process has ample opportunity to contribute and to be heard. The documentation will then be edited to reflect this additional input.

Session II - Planning

In this session, selected staff and community members work with the Four Worlds team to plan strategic lines of action needed to heal the community and to move on. The draft plan emerging from this session will again be distributed to community leadership and all interested community members for review, and will then edited to reflect further input.

Session III - Training and Start-up

This session involves training key staff and community members in various counseling and community development approaches directly related to the lines of action planned in Session II. After this session, the plan should be up and running. The phase following this session will focus on getting the community fully engaged in the program.

Session IV - Special Needs Healing Workshop and Local Team Evaluation

In this session, Four Worlds coaches will work together with the community to conduct special healing workshops requiring additional support (such as sexual abuse survivors or resolving long-standing conflicts). As well, the team will conduct a baseline evaluation of the first six months of program operation in order to determine needed changes in plans, new strategies or human resource capacity building needs.

The Four Worlds Residential School Healing Program will not require new personnel to be hired in the community, but rather will work with existing programs, staff and community volunteers. The only way such an approach can really work is if chief, council and senior managers all agree to make it work because of its importance to community well-being.

Costs

Costs for the program will be negotiated on a community-by-community basis to reflect the size of the community, actual community needs and conditions, travel costs, and other specific program expenses.

The People

The Residential School Healing Program had been designed and developed by Four Worlds International and the Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning. Four Worlds has a long and distinguished track record related to healing and community development work in Aboriginal communities. Team members have recently authored several manuals on Aboriginal community sexual abuse intervention, and we have worked closely with many Aboriginal communities for more than a decade on abuse and residential school related issues. Our film, "Healing the Hurts" documents some of this important work. Four Worlds is well known for its culturally-based way of working, based on principles and approaches that have emerged through the guidance of wise elders and tested in hundreds of Aboriginal community settings over many years.

More Information?

This program is designed for communities that are ready to take effective action to address the residential school issue. If you would like to find out more, contact:

The Four Worlds International Institute for Human and Community Development
Tele: 403-320-7144 Fax: 403-329-8383 E-mail: 4worlds@uleth.ca

Appendix 6

What I want and expect from the Department of Indian Affairs and the Blackrobes (Jesuits) et al

Written by Gilbert Oskaboose
A survivor of Garnier Residential School for Indians in Spanish, Ontario 1946 - 1956

What I want and expect from you people is a large sum of money as compensation for the living hell you put me through in residential school...ten years under the loving strokes of a Jesuit strap in one of your infamous institutions. It's as simple as that.

No amount of money will ever cover the pain of those years and the damage done to me personally, to my family, to my community and to my Nation. This will only serve to ease the trip into my senior years. The same applies to my wife, another survivor.

I am not the slightest bit interested in your bloody apologies. Apologies are words and words are like dust on the wind. They mean nothing. You don't hurt somebody for ten years and then say " Geez, sorry about that," do a group "warm and fuzzy," and wander off into the pink sunset hand in hand. Doesn't work that way.

The suggested " language training" programs are ridiculous. My wife and I are pushing 60. It's a bit late to be trying to learn a new language. The same goes for the councelling and healing centers you propose. Neither my wife or I are about to begin spilling our guts to some fuzzy-assed kid fresh out of university, a diploma in Freudian therapy clutched in his hot little hand. Crying about your problems is not the Indian way.

That 350 million dollars the government has set aside should got directly to the survivors of those schools. They were the one that were actually there. They were the ones who paid the bitter price. They are the ones that will go on paying the price until they die.

My God, is there no end to you people? You do wrong for over a hundred years. You hurts thousands of people. Then you have to be bullied into 'fessing up" to your error. You have to be bullied through the courts to pay up. Then you half apologize, but launch appeals against the decisions brought against you in your own courts. Is there no end to you people?

Please don't turn over that money to the fat cats of native territorial and provincial organizations who specialize in creating "culturally appropriate" programs for needy Indians. They grow fat on our pain. Don't turn it over to the legions of bureaucrats infesting Indian Affairs to squander. Don't turn it over to loonies who run local Band Offices. They have the art of wasting government funds down to a science.

If you're truly sorry and wish to make amends then do the right thing. Put your mistakes behind you and do the right thing, for once. Divide that money up among the former students that actually went to those residential schools. Set a little aside for the children of the survivors. They directly inherited the garbage we brought back home.

Appendix 7

Options and Examples: Programs for Change

The following is a small sample of the hundreds of programs that are working to revive and strengthen aboriginal cultures in the wake of colonial destruction. There is no particular rationale for our selections; these are just a few examples of many, many initiatives equally deserving of attention and support.

1. Manitoba First Nations Repatriation Program

Contact: Shirlene Asham, Coordinator
Room 704, 167 Lombard Ave.
Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 0V3
Tel: 1-800-665-5762

As residential schools began to close in the 1960's, the Manitoba government invited Child and Welfare services onto the reserves, where they visited homes at random. This was done without the consent of the reserve leaders or their communities. As a result, over 3,000 Manitoba First Nations children were taken from their homes and put up for adoption. The majority ended up with non-native families in the United States. These removals were justified by Child and Welfare who claimed parents were unfit, and did not properly care for their children; decisions were made in an alien court environment where aboriginal people had little chance of defending themselves, and many children were taken without parental signature or understanding. Almost all of the parents and many of the children were products of the residential school system.

Within the native communities in the 1980s, many parents and grandparents were making requests to bring back to their native land, these children who had been removed. All provinces have a post-adoption registry, but native people wanted an agency run by First Nations, where they felt they would be better understood. In 1992, the Dept. of Indian Affairs promised $90,000 a year in funds to begin the Manitoba Repatriation Program, based on a previously existing First Nations program in B.C.

The program operates on the premise that every person has a right to be "whole", an important part of which is knowing one's own history. Most adoptees do not even know what tribe they were from. Many grew up as the only Native child in a largely white, American community, experiencing racism and strong feelings of non-identity.

The repatriation program currently has 576 active cases, and a high success rate; with a history of 800 clients, they have made possible over 300 reunions. When lost children are found, the program makes possible a reunification on Manitoban soil.

They offer basic support and counselling to families, and referrals to more extensive support systems. Throughout the winter months, they work on cultural education programs, which include inviting elders to speak, and taking clients to culturally relevant ceremonies.

The biggest obstacle this program faces is a severe lack of funds. Last year the federal government increased their running budget to $120,000, and for the first time ever, the province gave them $20,000. Due to such limited resources, the program is only able to have a staff of two people, and would very much like to see funding for two more counselling staff. Cutbacks within Mantoba's Child & Family Services also affect the program, as these agencies help finance reunions, and are less able to do so. Much energy is spent on fundraising campaigns, selling oranges, selling jeans, holding raffles and auctions.

Shirlene Asham, the program's coordinator, feels frustrated that the government created this problem, and First Nations are left to address it, with inadequate financial means; it is almost as if they have been "set up to fail".

2. Headlines Theatre: *Reclaiming Our Spirits*

Contact: Headlines Theatre
Apt. 203, 320 - East 2nd Ave.,
Vancouver, B.C., V5T 4R8
Tel: (604) 871-0508

This political theatre believes in making theatre *with* the community, not just for the community to observe; each year they go into communities to run a program called "Theatre for Living". Director David Diamond notes that when individuals or communities lose the ability to tell their stories, they become sick; "Theatre for the Living" helps people to tell their stories.

Working with United Native Nations, Headlines Theatre designed a program called, *"Out of the Silence"*, which dealt with issues around physical abuse. With the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, this was developed into *"Reclaiming Our Spirits"*, a program which focused on residential schools.

In 1996, a week long workshop was set up at the Kakawis Healing Centre, the Old Christie school. Participants were either former student or their children. Six intense and emotional days of theatrical sessions resulted in the performance of two short plays; one dealing with the historical issues of residential schools, and the other addressing the modern impacts. This was felt to be such a profound and positive experience, that the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council and the B.C. Provincial Residential School Project helped fund Headlines to replicate the workshop in ten more communities around B.C.

Communities found the workshops and plays to be rehearsals for social change. For example, the audience interactive portion allowed spectators to interact with players, yelling "STOP", if they felt a character was being disrespected. The audience member could then come up on stage and act things out in a way that called for and demanded respect. These dialogues through action, allowed many people to deal with issues, showing ways in which negative patterns could be changed to positive ones.

Diamond stresses that his program is a theatre process, not a counselling one, although it facilitates tremendous healing. Counsellors are present during programs. The focus is a political one, stressing the empowerment of participants. Even though this particular project has concluded, there are still many requests to run the workshops. Residential school programs have recently been facilitated in Ontario, and in Ahousat, B.C., dealing with family violence.

3. Aboriginal Women's Project

Contact: Alberta Native Friendship Centres Association
#1102, 10025 - 106 St.
Edmonton, Alberta, T5J 1G4
Tel: (403) 423-3138

Noticing that a great many healing and cultural education programs have been developed with a focus on men, the Friendship Centres Association set out to specifically address unmet women's needs with its Aboriginal Women's Project. Funded by the Status of Women Canada, Canadian Heritage, and the Alberta Friendship Centres Association, a variety of women's programs have been offered.

The Aboriginal Women's Retreat has been particularly successful. At weekends for women only, at a camp in a rural, natural setting, women addressed issues of community healing, family wellness, healthy relationships, addiction and recovery, and healing through journalling and creativity. They also addressed female-specific issues with a "Girl Becomes Woman" ceremony, and discussion of menopause from a Native perspective.

Women-only gatherings are felt to be an important part of healing, where women are able to gain new insights, and transform their understanding of themselves and their communities.

4. Kwanlin Dün Community Justice - Circle Sentencing in the Yukon

Members of the Kwanlin Dün community began to take note of the high numbers of band members convicted of crimes, who reoffended on release from jail. They felt that the western court systems were failing their people as there was little evidence of rehabilitation. Seeking solutions, they surmised that a large part of the problem was a lack of community involvement in sentencing and rehabilitation.

In 1992, the Band and justice officials developed the Circle Sentencing Program, with a goal to, "heal the damage of the crime" and reintegrate the offender into the community. The circle is composed of court officials, along with elders, family, and community members. In consultation, they develop sentences that are more holistic in their approach.

This model of justice, which attempts to adopt a restorative rather than a retributive approach, and involve communities as active participants in the process, has become popular in courts and communities across the north in the 1990s. A major disadvantage, in communities that have not undergone a healing process, is that council members and elders involved are also sometimes recognized within the community to be offenders themselves, perpetuating dysfunctional power structures and oppression of community members.

5. Native Brotherhood

The Brotherhood began at Stoney Mountain Penitentiary in 1958, as the first native self-help program developed in prison, by the prisoners themselves. They felt that crime originated from a loss of culture, and sought to promote pride in Native heritage through activities, education, and community involvement, as well as promoting knowledge of the justice system and other social institutions. Through leadership training and public speaking, producing people who could speak on behalf of native prisoners, as well as life skills, communication and self-awareness training, extensive support networks were formed as the Brotherhood philosophy was transferred around the country along with the inmates who spread it.

The movement flourished in the '60s and '70s, and a parallel Sisterhood was developed for women. Prisoner activities included newsletters, cultural activities, radio shows, and the sponsorship of youth programs through the profits of inmate-run co-ops. The Brotherhood has been instrumental in fighting for the rights of native people to practice their traditions within prisons. At various times it has been targeted as a threat to authority, as Brotherhood members often comprise a majority of the prison population; transfers have often been made in order to disrupt the movement and its leadership.

In spite of such setbacks, the Brotherhood remains a source of strength for people in prison, and has been highly successful in replacing shame with pride in aboriginal culture and values.

6. Atoskata Victim Compensation Program for Youth

Contact: Regina Native Friendship Centre

The Saskatchewan Dept. of Social Services noted that its rate of closed custody sentences for youth was 70% higher than anywhere else in Canada; much of this was due to car theft, and many of these youth were aboriginal. The justice system seemed to be responding to an increased car theft problem by handing out more and longer closed custody sentences.

The Atoskata Program was established under the control of the Regina Friendship Centre, in an effort to both bring offenders closer their community, and develop a more just approach to the problem of car theft. Young offenders referred to Atoskata are supervised by community elders, in a work placement program, and the pay they would have received is transferred to the victims affected by their crimes.

7. Hollow Water - Restorative Justice

Hollow Water, an Ojibwa reserve on Lake Winnipeg, has become the centre of focus in discussion on sexual abuse counselling, because of its Community Holistic Healing Circle. The program was developed by Hollow Water and three neighbouring Métis communities with a total population of about 1000 people.

The communities blame four generations of residential school attendance and abuse for robbing native people of a sense of true family life and ability to judge what constitutes healthy sexuality, problems which were grossly manifest within the community.

In most communities, the existence and extent of sexual abuse is largely ignored; this was also the case in Hollow Water, until research indicated that 80% of its population had been abused, usually by a family member, and 50% of the community members were abusers. There was clearly a problem to be addressed, but how? The conventional justice system, with its high conviction rates, would incarcerate a large portion of the population, leaving the community devastated, while doing nothing to resolve the underlying problems.

In the mid-1980s, twenty-four community members came together with the goal of healing sexual abuse and family violence. With extensive planning and training, the Community Holistic Healing Circle was developed. The program seeks to bring the community back into balance by working with both victims and victimizers. A holistic approach, using the analogy of a circle and the community as a web of relationships, emphasizes that resolution and healing cannot take place in isolation, but rather within relationships. As people began to disclose abuse, it gave others the courage to do so as well.

The Healing Circle works closely with child protection services, the police and courts. When there is sufficient evidence of an offence having occurred, the offender is approached, and given the option of going through the criminal justice system. Alternatively, if the offender acknowledges the offence, they can begin the Healing Circle process; this gives offenders the opportunity to accept responsibility for the harm they've caused and begin to heal, rather than be incarcerated. This is the difference between restorative and retributive justice.

The program is significant as it brings victims and offenders -- who are often victims themselves -- together in a healing process. Offenders remain within the community, under supervision and with certain living restrictions, while they undergo counselling and healing activities including sharing circles, sweats, and fasting. While they are not blamed for there actions, offenders are held accountable for them.

The Healing Circle process is made up of thirteen steps:
1) Disclosure
2) Establishing safety for the victim
3) Confront the offender
4) Support the spouse/parent
5) Support the family(ies)/ community
6) Meeting of Assessment Team with RCMP
7) Circles with offender
8) Circles with victim and offender
9) Prepare the victim's family
10) Prepare the offender's family
11) Special Gathering; Sentencing Circle
12) Sentence Review
13) Cleansing Ceremony

The Community Healing Circle is supported by justice system officials. By 1995, the Circle had already dealt with over 100 victims and offenders, and over 200 relatives. Only five offenders had gone to jail, and only two have reoffended.

Like all native and social programs, funding is an issue of great concern. Policy changes, changes in departmental and elected officials, all impact on the Healing Circle's ability to operate. Organizers find it ironic that so much time and energy must be spent "understanding the bureaucratic machinations of the very systems that caused so much of the community's dysfunction in the first place."[1]

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[1] Solicitor General Canada, "Healing: Selected Reports from the Aboriginal Peoples Collection", CD-ROM 1996, "The Four Circles of Hollow Water", p.126

Holistic justice programs based on First Nations principles, directed by aboriginal people, and seeking to restore community balance through justice and healing, are operating in several communities including in B.C. and Saskatchewan.

8. St. Norbert Foundation/Selkirk Healing Centre

The Selkirk Healing Centre is a therapeutic community that strives to affect positive change in the environment, peer groups, family relationships, work habits, attitudes and values of its residents. It is a community focused on abstinence from substance use and abuse, and complimented by the support of concerned people working together to help themselves and each other within a holistic environment.

Program components emphasize increased responsibility for one's actions and behavior, and include developing an understanding and confidence in their role as a Native person. Identification of the primary issues contributing to substance abuse and developing an increased awareness of the individual's strengths and weaknesses are key to the individual's successful completion of the program. Program and community activities are enhanced by pipe ceremonies, healing circles, spring and fall ceremonies, naming ceremonies, round dances, sweat lodges and traditional pow-wows, as well as other cultural activities. The Healing Center employs Elders as the cultural and spiritual leaders of the community, and invites elders from across the country to visit and remain on site for extended periods of time. Also, a special committee called the "Council of Elders", which is drawn from across Canada, advises the Board on Aboriginal/Native traditional, cultural and spiritual programming.

The Selkirk Healing Centre is located on 320 scenic acres on the banks of the Red River 2 miles north of the town of Selkirk, Manitoba. In addition to its dormitory-style residence, the Healing Center features a gymnasium, daycare center, woodshop, elders residence, traditional crafts facilities, and an administrative office building.

Each resident is provided with opportunities for work experience, and is assigned to specific responsibilities within the operation of the facility. School age youth are enrolled in local classes from September through June, with tutoring and special needs classes available on site.

The Healing Centre's staff is complimented by a contracted physician and consulting psychologist. Those residents who wish to participate in outside support group sessions are assisted by staff in selecting a group, and in arranging transportation.[2]

Funding cuts are also a serious concern for St. Norbert's, which, while it is a non-profit society, is not a designated Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program (NAADAP). When Medical Services Branch changed its policy to only fund status people to attend NAADAP programs, St. Norbert's was forced to cut their family program which had 500 people on its waiting list.[3]

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[2] Reprinted from literature describing the St.Norbert's program.

[3] conversation with director Lorne Wier, June 1998

9. The Anishnabe Education and Training Circle

Contact: Native Program Development, Community-based Training
c/o Georgian College,
One Georgian Drive, Barrie Ontario, L4M 3X9
Tel: (705) 728-1968 ext. 1317

In 1992, the Anishnabe Education & Training Circle (AETC) formed a partnership with Georgian College with the goal of increasing the attraction, retention and graduation of Native people in the post-secondary environment. The Circle is a cooperative initiative among 15 Native communities and organizations, aimed at addressing the spectrum of matters affecting Anishnabe post-secondary education in order to ensure that the Seven Generations hereafter will have culturally appropriate and Anishnabe controlled post-secondary education available to them.

The vision of this Circle is to achieve a nationally recognized Circle of Aboriginal Learning which is spirit centred, culturally driven, and based on Holistic learning for the continuation of the Native Way of life. It will create a learning process and environment which ensures Aboriginal responsibility for the full development of self-determination in lifelong learning.

Shki-Miikan, the "new road" or foundation year program, is designed to enhance Native students sense of cultural identity and develop a solid academic base to succeed in further post-secondary studies. Courses include Native Heritage, tradition and cultures, rites and ceremonies; Ojibway language, Native issues and perspectives, as well as fundamental courses in mathematics, communication, language, career and lifestyle planning.

A two-year program in Native Community and Social Development teaches the skills necessary to plan, develop, evaluate and manage community-based health and social service programs. As well as the above courses, it includes Principles of Holistic Health and Healing, Psychology, Social and Health Issues and Native People, Counselling, Administration, Human Resource Management, Program Planning and Evaluation.

The Anishnabe Education and Training Circle also designs and delivers community-based training programs, including Native Way Training, Career Planning, Lifestyle Management, and others.

10. Waseskun House[4]

Waseskun House is a community residential centre in Montreal, offering a program based on an inclusive approach to Native cultural tradition, and a proactive view of responsible reintegration of individuals into societal harmony. Using the Medicine Wheel as a model for the development, and the balance of the emotional, physical, mental, and spiritual aspects of human nature as a tool for individual integration, participants examine their personal life experience in the context of the natural principles guiding traditional Native understanding of reality.

Group and individual therapeutic programs help individuals to understand personal trauma, and to appropriately grieve the losses specific to contemporary Native experience. Personal potential is examined and understood for its implications in terms of future generations as well as its impact on the global community.

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[4] Information at: http://www.waseskun.net

This uniquely structured program, especially sensitive to individuals with a history of drug and alcohol abuse, includes:

* individual counselling;
* group counselling;
* Native family systems awareness;
* human sexuality;
* men's issues;
* conflict resolution;
* life skills;
* First Nations addictions awareness;
* anger management; physical balance;
* healing circles;
* cleansing ceremonies;
* sweatlodges;
* traditional teachings from Elders and;
* traditional feasts.

During the summer months, clients and, where appropriate, their families are given the opportunity to participate in intensive therapy camp sessions in a secluded environment.

The program has served over 400 Quebec First Nations and Inuit clients since it opened in 1988. As well as residence for federal and provincial corrections clients, Waseskun provides parole supervision in the communities.

11. The Pas Sweetgrass Head Start Centre

(An Aboriginal Head Start Initiative funded by Health Canada)

Contact: P.O. Box 2040,
The Pas, Manitoba
Tel: (204)-627-6864

The Pas Sweetgrass Head Start Centre supports early childhood development strategies designed and controlled by Aboriginal people. It provides opportunities for Aboriginal pre-school children to develop a positive sense of self and a desire for learning, as well as giving them opportunities to develop fully and successfully through their lives.

The goals and objectives of The Pas Sweetgrass Head Start Centre are to educate parents and caregivers to feel more competent, more secure, and more flexible in their relationships with their children; to support extended family members in teaching and caring for children; to foster opportunities to exercise independence and responsibility; to learn in an atmosphere of consistency and trust. Through the use of traditional teachings, our "Future Keepers of Mother Earth" will gain the knowledge of Aboriginal values and beliefs, within a holistic and safe environment.

Culturally relevant programming includes legends, Cree language, ceremonies, traditional teachings, songs and dances. Parents are offered programs such as Parenting Us; Programs and Workshops on Stress and Anger Management; Self-Esteem, Abuse, Suicide, Health & Fitness, Safety, Gambling and Smoking Addictions, Depression, Employment Preparation Skills, Nutrition, Food Preparation and others. Programs for children run four days a week, with both morning and afternoon sessions. Each Friday is set aside for parent and staff development. There is no fee for families in the program; transportation is available for those who need it, and nutritious snacks are served.

Headstart Programs that involve whole families in parenting, often with a strong cultural foundation for parenting and family skills, are often a highlight of the programming being done through Friendship and community centres across Canada. Worries about continued early childhood funding, inability to pay staff better wages, the huge need for parenting skills compared to the limited programs available, are commonly expressed by those running these programs.

12. Enaahtig Healing Lodge and Learning Centre

Contact: R.R.#1,
Victoria Harbour, Ontario, L0K 2A0
Tel: (705) 534-3724

The Enaahtig Healing Lodge and Learning Centre was established to provide opportunities for holistic healing and learning based on the principles of Aboriginal culture, to individuals and families in a safe environment in order to foster healthy, balanced communities and nations.

One to four week residential programs for families and others are offered, to provide focused, intensive healing work; non-residential and outreach programs are also offered for people across all ages. Central to all programs and services is traditional healing integrated with contemporary skills and practices. To this end, Enaahtig is a place of counsel, of learning of the teachings of the Creator, the sweat lodge, of fasting, and of ceremonies for healing and celebration. It is also a place of rediscovery, and of learning new ways to live in a good way.

Enaahtig Objectives are:

1) To establish and operate a healing and learning centre for Aboriginal peoples.

2) To promote traditional Aboriginal values and beliefs so as to encourage and foster the healing, rebuilding, and strengthening of aboriginal communities.

3) To promote the spiritual, emotional, mental, and physical well-being of Aboriginal individuals, families and communities.

4) To provide programs and activities responding to the social, cultural, educational, and language needs of Aboriginal communities.

5) To provide opportunities for individuals and families to reconnect with the natural world through land based cultural activities.

It's program and service goals are:

- To provide a healthy, natural setting with a safe, respectful, and confidential atmosphere for healing.
- To provide individuals and families with opportunities to heal through

traditional and contemporary counselling, talking and healing circles, healing ceremonies, and other holistic services.

- To help people spiritually reconnect and renew themselves within their traditions through cultural teachings, ceremony, the sweat lodge, and fasting.
- To provide opportunities for healthy relations within families, extended families, and communities and to support positive change in individuals and families through cultural based education.
- To promote increased self-esteem, self-sufficiency, social responsibility, and social integration through activities that develop the capacity for self-help and mutual aid.
- To help people achieve healthier lifestyles and living situations through improved knowledge, skills, and attitudes.
- To provide culturally appropriate pre- and post-natal programs and services for women and their partners.
- To provide programming responsive to the needs of our children and youth.

13. The Mook'am Sexual Abuse Project (A Developing Program Model)[5]

Native Child and Family Services of Toronto

This program is an innovative approach for responding to the needs of Native adult and child sexual abuse victims and their families. Its aim is to develop a comprehensive program which is culturally appropriate and sensitive to the needs of Native people. The program is in is early stages, evolving through experience, study, and consultation, with elders, staff, and other programs in Toronto.

The program accepts colonization as a major cause of sexual abuse in native communities, and suggests that prior to European contact, Native communities were largely abuse-free. The repercussions of colonization are identified as:

- the breakdown in cultural norms, roles, rules, and responsibilities (eg. breakdown of the clan system)
- residential schools which ran rampant with sexual abuse by those in authority, leaving at least two generations without proper role modelling in parenting
- various governmental policies, such as the Indian Act which often robbed Native people of their pride and dignity
- the foster care system which placed many Native children in white homes which were culturally different, and which provided opportunities for abuse
- Native adoptions in which Native children were adopted out all over the world
- urbanization which has led to isolation, lack of extended family support, and further breakdown of cultural values and norms
- the penal system with its extraordinary high percentage of Native people.

The program recognizes that these historical and structural factors have led to internalized anger, loss of control and the erosion of dignity and self-esteem. The adult treatment component of the program aims to reduce the risk of future cases by giving parents or future parents the emotional capacity to parent and protect their children. Treatment for children aims to assess the existence of sexual abuse and to help children cope with the resulting trauma.

The project identifies direct benefactors of the program, such as adult and child victims of sexual abuse, and also indirect benefactors, such as their family members.

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[5] Native Child & Family Services of Toronto, "The Mook'am Sexual Abuse Project" (Draft Three), October, 1991

Children of victims benefit from parent's increased self-esteem, parenting abilities, and capacity to relate to others; this helps reduce the risk of intergenerational cycles of abuse. Perpetrators of abuse are not treated in the Mook'am Program at this stage of development, but are referred to other programs.

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Again, these are only a few examples of a national restoration of native culture that has definitely taken hold across Canada. In every field -- science, education, arts, music, journalism, justice, community development, business, administration, to name just a few -- there is undeniable progress towards the regrowth of strong and dynamic aboriginal nations. Recognition and redress of the damage of residential schools will ensure that this growth continues, in a manner and spirit to the benefit and healing of all nations in Canada.